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ABSTRACT

This investigation examines the student careers of 25 women who were enrolled as graduate students in sociology at the University of Michigan during 1967. Specifically, the study suggests that for those women with focused involvement and peripheral sex role orientation, the likely career pattern is continuation until Ph.D. completion and the most relevant variable set in decisions is academic experience. For those with divertible involvement and peripheral sex role orientation, the career pattern is likely to be early termination or termination upon MA or ABD achievement and the most relevant variable is achievement motivation. For those women students with divertible involvement and central sex role orientation, the career pattern is variable and the most relevant variable set in decisions is female role considerations. In sum, the study uncovers the ways in which sets of determining variables act over time upon various types of women to produce a series of decisions which, in the aggregate, define the careers of graduate student women. (Author/HS)

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ABSTRACT

Student Careers of Graduate Student Women in Sociology at an Elite Department

by

Greer Litton Fox

This investigation examines the student careers of twenty-five women who were enrolled as graduate students in sociology at the University of Michigan during 1967. The study deals with four questions: 1) what types of student career patterns are distinquishable, 2) what are the empirical and analytic bases of variation among the observed career patterns, 3) what variables are relevant in the formation and development of the student career patterns, and 4) how do the relevant variables operate in shaping the student careers.

The women students are categorized along two input-attribute dimensions; that is, according to their focused or divertible involvement with sociology as a field of inquiry and future career field and according to the centrality or peripheral nature of their sex role orientation. The basic model of the analysis is a decision-making model; the graduate student career is conceptualized as being formed through the aggregation of outcomes of a series of decisions either to continue or to terminate the student career.

Five sets of variables affect the decision-making: Woman role considerations, academic experience, achievement motivation, achievement expectations, and time. Which of the sets of variables is most salient in decision-making depends on the input-attributes of the individual graduate student woman.

Specifically, the study suggests that for those women with focused involvement and peripheral sex role orientation, the likely career pattern is continuation until Ph.D. completion and the most relevant variable set in decisions is academic experience. For those with divertible involvement and peripheral sex role orientation, the career pattern is likely to be early termination or termination upon MA or ABD achievement and the most relevant variable is achievement motivation. For those women students with divertible involvement and central sex role orientation, the career pattern is variable and the most relevant variable set in decisions is women role considerations. Finally, for those with focused involvement and central sex role orientation, the career pattern is variable and all variable sets are operative: a) when achievement motivation, achievement expectation, and time are negative, the career decisions are to drop out; b) when all variables are positive the career decisions are to

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continue; c) when variables have mixed values, career patterns are variable. Thus the pursuit of graduate study to Ph.D. completion seems to be a function of the convergence of influences that minimize the conflict between the student role and other roles a woman plays, intends to play, or is expected to play.

It is notable that the research indicates that the variable set most directly related to the academic environment is only one of many factors influencing career decisions, and further, that it is of primary importance to only certain types of woman students. The majority of the variables that influence student career decisions are not directly manipulable by departmental structures or policies.

In sum, the study uncovers the ways in which sets of determining variables act over time upon various types of women to produce a series of decisions which, in the aggregate, define the careers of graduate student women.

STUDENT CAREERS OF GRADUATE STUDENT WOMEN IN SOCIOLOGY AT AN ELITE DEPARTMENT

Greer Litton Fox

University of Michigan

Winter 1967

STUDENT CAREERS OF GRADUATE STUDENT WOMEN

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STUDENT CAREERS OF GRADUATE STUDENT WOMEN

Chapter One. The Problem for Study

Introduction

Who is woman and what is her role in today's world? In varying guises these questions have been grappled with for centuries; the works of Homer, Sappho, and various biblical writers show concern with this problem. Moreover, Rabelais, Mill, de Beauvoir and countless others have dealt with this subject. Today the situation is similar; questions about the role and status of women in a changing world continue to occupy both writers and scientists.

The current literature on the subject of women ranges from the purely exhortatory[1] to the more rational scientific study of the subject.[2] Many of the essays in the former category deal with whether a woman can achieve self-actualization within her traditional boundaries of home and family, whether she can find fulfillment by having her life defined by the lives of her significant others, or whether whe can cope with the guilt incurred by breaking out of her traditional role. The prescriptions and proscriptions offered to women in these studies are determined by the varying predispositions of the authors involved.

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[1] References will be noted in abbreviated form; full descriptions may be found in the Bibliography. Cf. Friedan (1963) and Buck in Cassara (1963).

[2] Cf, Bernard (1966); Dawson (1965); Epstein (1966); Ginzberg, Life Styles...(1966); Ginzberg, Educated American Women... (1966); Hacker (1951); Komarovsky (1953).

Works in the second category deal with the opportunities for and participation of women in various segments of today's societal structure as a research question. That women have participated throughout history in the economic sector of society is unquestionable; as gatherers, as agriculturalists, as small handicraft artisans in cottage industries, women have taken their place alongside men in a joint effort at subsistence. Today's situation is distinguished by the fact that such participation commonly takes place in locuses outside the home.

Education would seem to be a key factor in such a transition for women. Through continued education women are exposed to new opportunities for broader societal participation, and they are presented with alternatives to the traditional wife - and - mother roles. Appropriately enough, many recent studies have been made of college-educated women. Questions are asked not only about the scope of their participation in the extra-familial realm,[3] but also about the opportunities for such participation[4] and the effects of such participation in creating role/status conflicts for such women.[5]

The bulk of such studies deal with the lives of women after their education is completed. They ask first what use is made of this education and then what effects the use of it has on the lives of such women. Our study departs from this tradition in that our focus is on women while they are in the process of higher education. We are looking at women currently engaged in graduate study, women - as - students still in the process of gaining an education.

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[3] Cf. Ginzberg, Life Styles... (1966); Ginzberg, Educated American Women... (1966); Mattfeld and Van Aken (1965).

[4] Epstein (1966) deals with structural factors affecting such participation in the professions. Bernard (1966) and Mattfeld and Van Aken (1965) also deal with opportunites for participation.

[5] Cf. Bernard (1966), Chs. 14 and 15.

Definition of the Problem

The student career of the graduate student woman in sociology at the University of Michigan is the subject of study. In the study we will be involved with four basic questions. First, what types of careers are distinguishable? Do patterns fall into recognizable types; and if so, how can these types be delineated ?

This leads to our second question: how do the career patterns vary? To answer this question we must define the empirical and analytic bases of variation among observed career patterns.

Third, we must ask what variables or factors are relevant in determining the patterns the student career will take. What factors are operative in the formation and development of a student career?

Following from this is our fourth question: how do the relevant variables operate to determine the pattern of the graduate career? What are the ways in which they shape the career?

In other words, essentially we are dealing with *variation* in a given phenomenon (the graduate student woman career). And we are searching for factors which can *explain* the observed variation.

Scope of the Problem

Just as it is crucial to know what the problem is that is being dealt with, it is often equally important to understand what is not being dealt with. In defining the scope of the problem, we simultaneously point out the limitations of this study.

The problem studied here is of severely limited scope. First of all, we are dealing with _women_; comparisons with men have not been undertaken and should not be inferred from this study. Further, we are dealing with women in _sociology_; no comparisons with women in other fields have been made and generalization beyond this field is not appropriate. Finally, we are dealing with the situation at the University of Michigan; comparison with other schools has neither been made nor should be inferred from this study. The limited scope of this study, however, not only indicates its shortcomings, but it also illuminates possible areas for future comparative studies.

The Problem in Context

Even though systematic comparisons of women in sociology at the University of Michigan to men and women in other fields at other universities have not been made throughout this study, nevertheless as a means of locating our problem in its wider context a few very sketchily drawn comparisons can be made. We can look at comparisons of graduate student men to graduate student women, comparisons of women's performance in sociology to their performance in other fields, comparisons of Michigan to other schools, and finally comparisons of graduate student women to graduate student men in sociology at Michigan.

1. Graduate women to graduate men: Figure I (page 9) shows the distribution of M.A. and PhD degrees awarded to women in all fields as a percentage of all degrees awarded during particular time intervals at U.S. universities. From this distribution we can trace the earned degree patterns of women through time. The steady increase

in the proportion of degrees awarded to women, which began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, continued throughout the years of the feminist movement and the prosperous twenties until the years of the Depression. This proportion began to decrease at that time and continued to decrease during and after the war years. In the fifties the proportion of Master's degrees awarded to women increased by about 4 - 5 per cent, stabilizing at approximately 31 per cent, while that of doctoral degrees stabilized at around 10 per cent. Comparable figures for sociology at the University of Michigan show that 47.5 per cent of all M.A.'s granted are awarded to women, about 10 per cent more than those for U.S. universities. At Michigan 9.5 per cent of doctoral degrees in sociology have been awarded to women, which is comparable to the proportion for all fields reported for U.S. universities.

2. Women in sociology to women in other fields: Keeping in mind the 10 per cent rate for women PhD's in all fields, we turn now to Figure II (page 10) which presents in absolute numbers the number of doctoral degrees awarded to women in five fields from 1920 to 1961. We can note, first, that the numbers in all fields have risen with the most spectacular rise occuring in education, followed by the social sciences and the arts and professions. With exception of arts and professions all fields showed rises from 1960 - 1961 which are probably still rising. It should be remembered, however, that although the total number of women PhD's has increased, their share of all PhD's since 1950 has remained relatively constant.

Figure III (page 11) shows for 1955-56 the percentage of doctorates in specified fields who were women; these percentages refer to people in careers rather than to earned degree outputs from universities. The data show that 10 per cent of the professionals with PhD's in the social sciences are women, which is within one-tenth of one per cent of the mean for all fields. It is also comparable to the percentage of PhD's awarded to women both at Michigan and nationally.

3. Michigan to other schools: We have already seen that in sociology Michigan is comparable to the national average in terms of proportions of PhD's awarded in all fields to women. Comparative data on percentages of degrees awarded to women in sociology by different departments were unavailable. However, Sibley reports that of sixty-eight schools, Michigan ranked sixteenth in terms of the number of PhD's conferred between 1950 and 1960 and first in size of faculty in 1960.[6]

4. Graduate student women to graduate student men in sociology at the University of Michigan:[7]

The data relevant to these comparisons is shown below:

GIVEN: that everyone who has entered the Sociology Department is assigned to one of the following categories (designed to be mutually exclusive and exhaustive):

1. MA Inactive: not in residence, MA not completed.
2. MA Conferred: not in residence, not expected back, MA completed.
3. PhD Inactive: admitted to PhD program; some near completion of degrees, some academically unable to continue in program but beyond the MA level.
4. PhD Conferred: PhD completed.

From the second panel in Table 1 (page 7) can be seen that although twice as many men as women have been admitted to the department,

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[6] Sibley (1963), pp 142-43.

[7] Data for these comparisons were gathered through examination of departmental files and in consultation with the Associate Chairman of the Department of Sociology, Leon H. Mayhew. The author acknowledges her appreciation to the departmental Executive Committee for their kind permission to use these files.

(67.6% as compared to 32.4%), almost half of the MA degrees awarded were to women but only one-tenth of all PhD's awarded were to women. From the third panel in Table 1 we can see that nearly 30% of all men students have completed their PhD's while the comparable figure for women is approximately 6 per cent. Further, almost three-quarters of all women students terminate their graduate careers on or before completing the MA degree, while only 45 per cent of all men students leave before or upon MA completion. Also, we can observe that approximately one-fifth of all students who are admitted to the department eventually complete the doctoral degree.

Table 1: Frequency and Percentage Distributions of Persons Enrolled in Sociology, U of M, from 1924-1967, by Sex, by Type of Degree Termination.

Type of Degree Termination	Men N	Women N	Total N	Men %	Women %	Total %	Men %	Women %	Total %
MA INACTIVE	96	64	160	60.0	40.0	100.0	23.9	33.3	27.0
MA CONFERRED	85	77	162	52.5	47.5	100.0	21.2	40.1	27.2
PHD INACTIVE	106	39	145	73.1	26.9	100.0	26.4	20.3	24.5
PHD CONFERRED	114	12	126	90.5	9.5	100.0	28.4	6.3	21.2
Total	401	192	593	67.6	32.4	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9

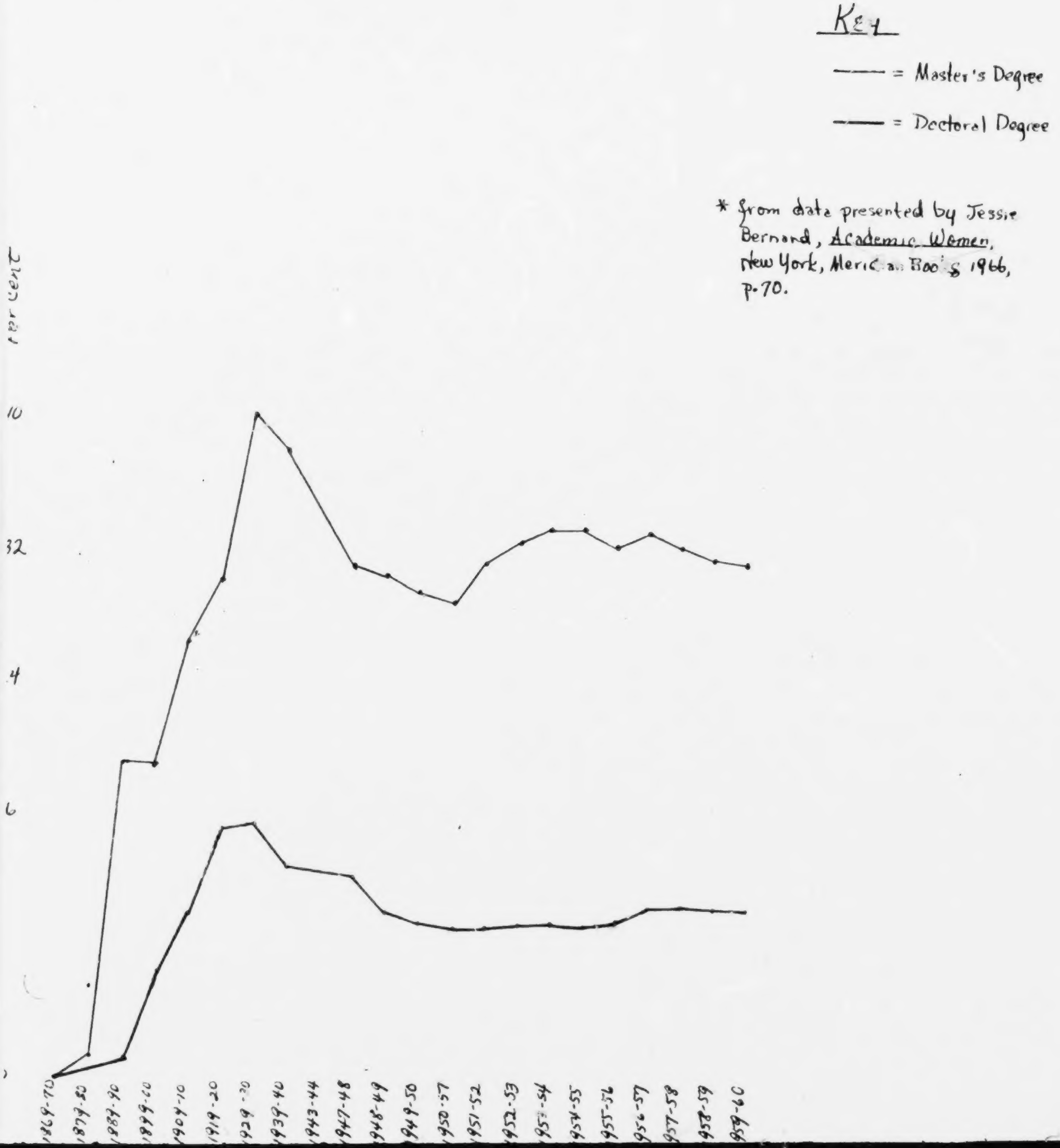
Now that we have "fixed" the position of our problem within the wider field of women in higher education and have also looked more closely at the specific historical departmental context of the problem, we turn to dealing with the problem itself--the careers of graduate student women. We shall begin with an overview of the study.

Outline of the Paper

In this first chapter we discussed the definition, scope, and context of our problem. Chapter Two presents the techniques used to gather data and discusses the overall results of these tools. In Chapter Three an analytic model is developed in which the graduate career is conceptualized as a decision-making process. The decisions that aggregately generate the career pattern are produced by a set of determining variables operating differentially upon four distinguishable types of graduate student entrants.

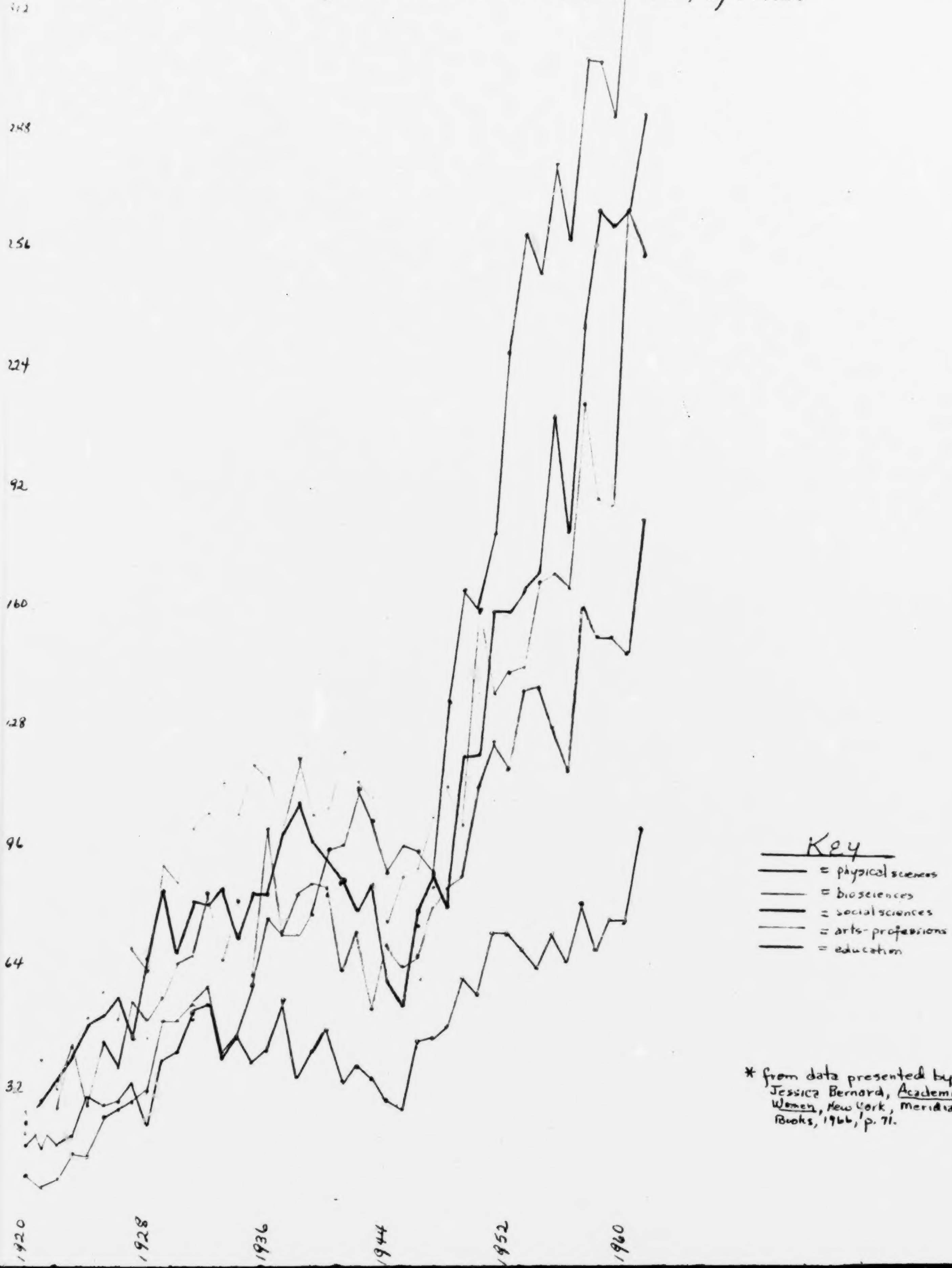
In Chapter Four the analytic model developed in Chapter Three is used to generate a series of hypotheses about expected career patterns and about the operation of the determining variables in producing the expected patterns. These hypotheses are then examined by inspection of the data. Chapter Five contains conclusions and suggestions for future research.

Percentage Distributions of Women Master's and Doctoral Degree Recipients 1869 - 1960*



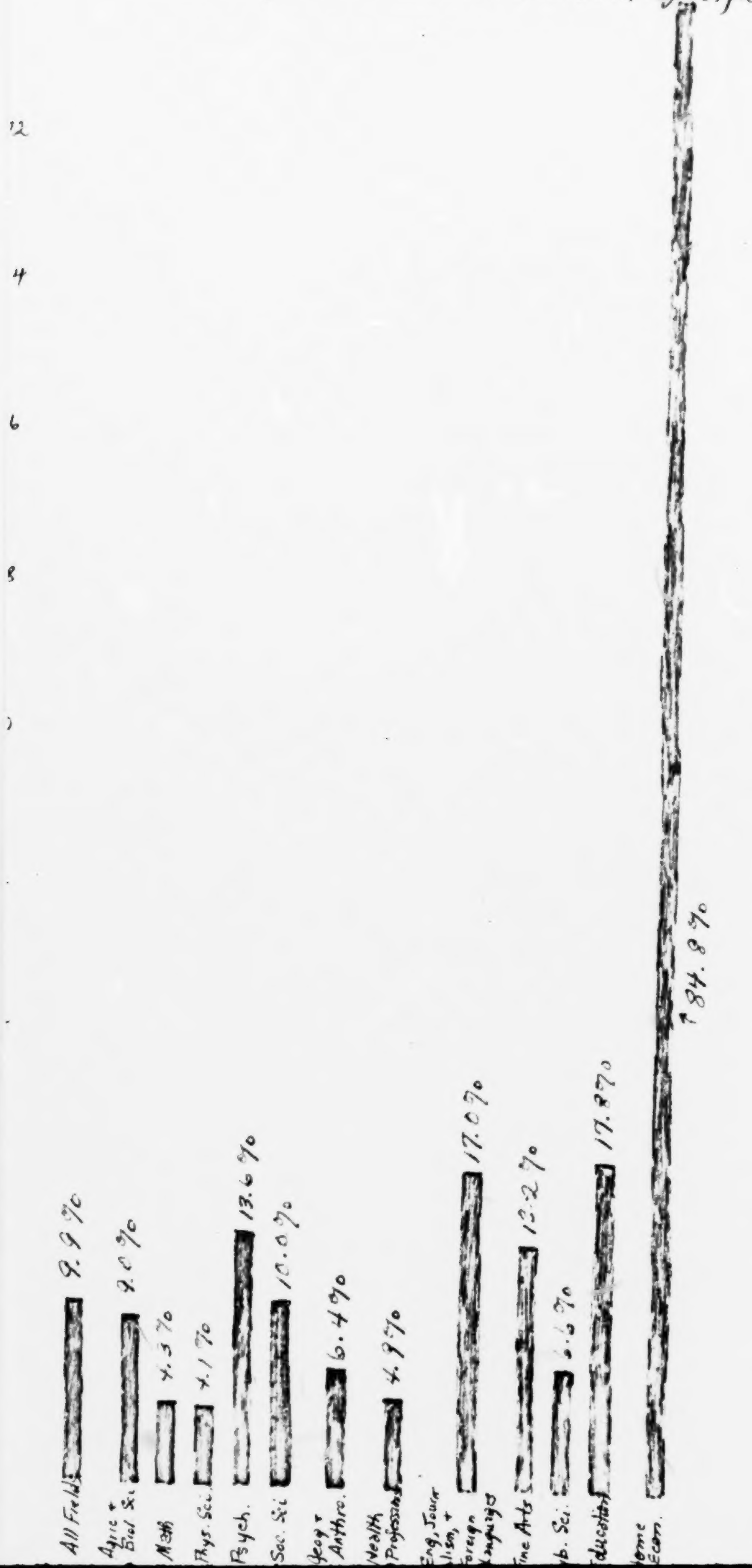
* from data presented by Jessie Bernard, Academic Women, New York, Meridian Books 1966, p. 70.

Figure 8: Doctor's Degrees Awarded to Women, 1920-1961, by Fields*



* from data presented by Jessica Bernard, Academic Women, New York, Meridian Books, 1966, p. 71.

Percentages of Ph D's Who Were Women in Specified Fields, 1955-56.*



* from data presented in Jessie Bernard, Academic Women, New York, Meridian Books, 1966, p 126.

Chapter Two. Data: Generative and Aggregative Mechanisms

In many respects this step in the research process is the most crucial. Decisions made as to types of data to be collected and the techniques developed to gather them are irreversible.[1] These decisions, made in the early stages of the research project, critically affect the remainder of the study. This project is no exception to these maxims: the analysis and the conclusions drawn are functions of the quality and scope of the data collected.

The primary technique used in this study was the in-depth personal interview utilizing open-ended questions. After a series of preliminary observations, a review of several articles relevant to the topic, and a systematic examination of the predilections of the researcher, a tentative interview schedule was devised for use with each of the twenty-five graduate student women who comprised the sample in this study. In this chapter we will first discuss the interview schedule and then the sample of twenty-five students.

The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (included in the appendix) was designed to cover five major areas or subtopics: options[2]; commitments[3]; relationships with faculty, graduate student men, graduate student women, friends, and family; leaving graduate school; and problems the interviewee had or felt in pursuing graduate study. Each of these areas will be discussed in turn.

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[1] Selltiz et. al. (1965), p. 18.

[2] Options as an area of questioning was suggested as relevant in Ginzberg's studies of academic women.

[3] Commitment as an area of questioning was suggested by Becker's article (A.J.S., 1960) on this subject.

1. Options: In the first section a series of questions, covering three time sequences, was asked in order to ascertain whether the interviewee felt that she had alternatives to graduate school open to her. Questions on past options dealt with the interviewee's initial decision to come to graduate school. Questions on future options dealt with the interviewee's view of herself as a professional member of the discipline. Questions on present options attempted to determine whether the student saw alternatives to graduate school open to her, at what points and under what conditions these alternatives became both visible and viable (that is, what events precipitated the seeing of other options and what factors were relevant in determining the viability as well as the visibility of these other options), and why or why not the student refrained from exercising the alternative options to her current pursuit of graduate study.

2. Commitment: Questions falling under this heading were designed to discover whether commitment to a career, to the discipline, or to the department was most pertinent in decisions to continue the graduate career to PhD completion.

3. Relationships: (a) to faculty: a series of specific questions was asked in this area in order to obtain a description of the interactive relationships and working contacts of these students with professors. Questions were also asked about the interviewee's perception of differential treatment accorded to women in the areas of admission, funding, classroom techniques, and grading.

(b) to men students: as in the faculty relationships section questions in this area were designed to obtain a description of the nature of interaction in the academic environment with men students in the department.

(c) to women students: not only were questions asked about graduate student women interaction, but interviewees were asked whether they felt there is a definable "graduate student woman" type which could distinguish between those who will finish their degrees and those who will not.

(d) to family: the questions in this section asked not only about the support received for the career, but also about the dual scheduling of family and study and about the role that marriage plays in the student career.

(e) to friends: under this section information about peer group and reference group reactions to the interviewee's graduate study was sought. Questions were asked about feelings of normality at being a graduate student, about the degree of seriousness with which friends reacted to the interviewee's studenthood, and about the encouragement received from friends relative to a continued graduate career. Included also was a question about the interviewee's "effective role model" for her student and future professional roles.

4. Leaving: Since the event of leaving graduate school is characteristic of so many careers of graduate student women, a section of the interview was devoted specifically to questions on this topic. It should be noted that "leaving" is essentially an option to continued graduate study. Therefore, questions pertinent to "present options," discussed above, were covered in more detail for this particular option. Interviewees were asked if they had considered leaving, at what points in their student careers they had considered it, and what factors were significant both in making this option a salient question for them and in their decisions about whether to exercise the option.

5. Problems: This final area served as a catch-all for topics not covered in other sections of the interview. Questions on role-conflicts, feelings of anomie, motivational problems, scheduling problems, and feelings of time pressures were specifically asked. Opportunity was also given to the interviewee to suggest other relevant problems encountered in being a graduate student woman.

Mention should be made of the style of use of the interview schedule. The schedule served essentially as a guide for the researcher; more often than not it was consulted only sporadically during the course of an interview. The flow of the interview was primarily a function of the interests and comments of the student interviewees; in attempting to tap those areas of most salience to the interviewees, this researcher relied upon the interview schedule merely to guarantee that the five aforementioned areas would be covered, thus ensuring a degree of comparability among the interviews. That this was possible (that is, that total reliance upon the schedule in directing the interviews was unnecessary) is attributable in large part to the characteristics of the sample of interviewees.

The Sample

The sample of graduate women studied are distinguished first of all by the fact that they are graduate students. They represent a highly educated and articulate body of women. Secondly, they are graduate students in sociology and therefore familiar with the purposes of methods of interviewing. Thus, they were able to fill and, indeed, go beyond their interviewee roles not only by facilitating the data-gathering task, but also in making valuable suggestions as to other areas that could be of relevance to this study and as to possible approaches of analysis. This researcher's enthusiasm for her "sample" should not be underestimated; their generosity with their time and their thoughts immeasurably influenced both the feasibility and the pleasurability of the project.

The sample consisted of twenty-five women currently enrolled in graduate study in sociology. Most were interviewed during the spring and summer of 1967, the interviews ranging in length from one to four hours.

In terms of distributive characteristics the women ranged in age from twenty-one to forty-five, the modal age being twenty-three. Fourteen were married and six of those had from one to four children. Of the twenty full-time students, nine were married while all five part-time students were married.

Twenty of the women had either declared no field of specialty or were majoring in Social Organization, three were specializing in Population/Ecology, and two were in the combined program in Sociology/Social Work. Twelve of the twenty-five were first-year students, seven were second-year, four were third-year, and two were in their fourth year of study or beyond. Ten had earned their Master's degrees, and three of these had passed their preliminary examinations and had begun work on their doctoral dissertations. Twelve of the twenty-five were leaving the program; three of the twelve were transferring, the remaining nine dropping out entirely.

Nineteen different undergraduate institutions were represented by the sample. While seventeen of the twenty-five had either majored in sociology or had a double major in sociology and another field as undergraduates, the remaining eight had majored in subjects ranging from architecture to American studies to German literature. Eleven of the women had taken a break in their educational careers between undergraduate and graduate study; nine of these were married.

Our sample can be compared in terms of certain characteristics to the department's twelve women PhD recipients. Whereas all but one of our sample are native Americans, five of the twelve PhD recipients were of foreign nationality. Exactly half of the women PhD's were married whereas over half of our sample is married. Further characteristics of the twelve women PhD's are as follows: the time lag between earning the A.B. and the PhD ranged from three to eleven years, the average lag equaling seven years and nine months. Eight of the doctoral degrees were awarded in "Sociology" or Social Organization, three in Population/Ecology, and one in Social Psychology. The first doctoral degree awarded to a woman was in 1937, the most recent in 1967. During this thirty year period, three doctoral degrees were conferred upon women between 1937 and 1939, eight between 1954 and 1962,and one in 1967.

Returning to our sample of twenty-five, we see that a variety of ages and experiences - academic and otherwise - are represented. The fact that the sample is roughly split between "leavers" and "continuers," first-year and advanced students, those who have gone directly into graduate school and those who have had some period of time away from academia, and those who are married and those who are single further ensures that a variety of student career patterns are represented in this study.

With the data collected from interviews with these twenty-five graduate women, it is now possible to derive an analytic model to be used in recognizing and accounting for the variety of observable career patterns. This is the task of the next chapter, to which we now turn.

Chapter Three. Method of Analysis

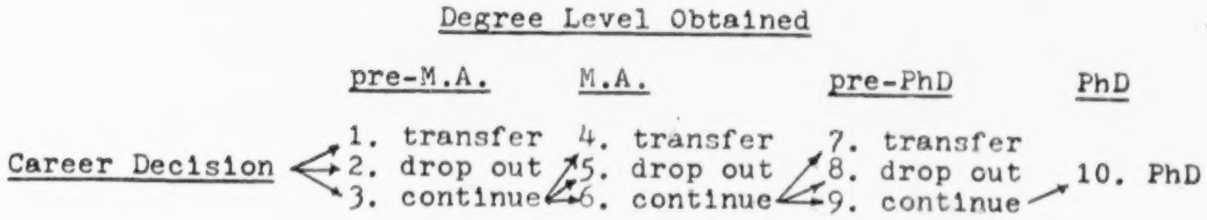
The career that is produced as one proceeds from the status of "entering student" to that of "PhD recipient" can take on a bewildering variety of forms. The way in which this wealth of empirical diversity has been dealt with is the subject of this chapter.

The Decision-Making Model

The basic model of the analysis is a decision-making model. The graduate student career is conceptualized as a decision-making process in which the career is formed through the aggregation of outcomes of a series of decisions.

The rhetoric of the graduate department as a "people-processing system" becomes useful here in explicating the model: graduate women who are fed into the "PhD factory" can be characterized according to the input-attributes they bring into the system. As they pass through the system, a set of variables--some bound up with the system, others peripheral to the system but closely connected with the individual entrants--continuously impinge in various ways upon the entrants according to the input-attributes which characterize them. It is these variables, which operate throughout the graduate career, that influence entrants' decisions either to continue or to terminate the career. Combinations of these decisions define the pattern that a given career will take. In sum, then, we have a set of determining variables acting over time upon various types of entrants (defined according to their input-attributes) to produce a series of decisions which, in the aggregate, define the careers of graduate student women.

The basic decision-making model, which is essentially a finite stochastic process, can be represented by the following diagram:


Degree Level Obtained
pre-M.A.
M.A.
pre-PhD
PhD
Career Decision
1. transfer
2. drop out
3. continue
4. transfer
5. drop out
6. continue
7. transfer
8. drop out
9. continue
10. PhD

The Basic Decision-Making Process

Producing Graduate Student Woman Careers

The Search for Patterning of Careers: Empirical Dimensions of Variation

The analytic model just presented was derived through a series of steps in data analysis, the first of which was to search for regularities or patternings of the career descriptions contained in the original data. Essentially a descriptive task, this step involved recognizing and delineating the empirical bases of variation, that is, the career types observable among the twenty-five women students in the sample.

(It is instructive to note that the career descriptions, which were the starting point of the data analysis, are the end products or outputs of the decision-making process, in terms of the model above. Thus, the analysis begins at the "end" of the process with the empirically observable products--the career patterns--and traces backward the steps by which those patterns were produced. The producing elements, the set of determining variables, act upon the input-attributes, which are the analytic dimensions of variation among the empirical phenomena.)

An "algebra" of career components was devised so that all careers could be represented as varying combinations of the same set of elemental components. (This component breakdown of career patterns will be explicated below.) The algebraic expressions for the types of careers are useful in that they facilitate comparison of careers by reducing the considerable complexity and variety of verbal descriptions to a few parsimonious expressions. Moreover, they are valuable in that they indicate explicitly not only the current status of a given career relative to PhD attainment, but also the process (that is, the series of decisions) by which the current status was reached.

Components of patterns can be generated by cross-classifying four descriptive dimensions of graduate careers: 1) degree level obtained, a four-part ordinal scale comprised of "pre-M.A.," "M.A.," "pre-PhD," and "PhD" levels; 2) time involved in study, a dichotomous scale comprised of "full-time" and "part-time" study; 3) the undergraduate-graduate sequential relationship, a dichotomous scale comprised of an unbroken, or "straight," sequence of study and a broken, or "break," sequence of study; and 4) type of career decision, a three-part nominal scale comprised of decisions to "transfer," to "drop out," and to "continue." When these four dimensions are cross-classified, forty components of graduate careers can be distinguished; these are presented in the following table:

The Logical Components of Patterns of Graduate Careers

	Full-Time				Part-Time
	Degree Level Obtained				
	Pre-MA	MA	Pre-PhD	PhD	
Straight	1. transfer 2. drop out 3. continue	4. transfer 5. drop out 6. continue	7. transfer 8. drop out 9. continue	10.	DITTO (components 21-30)
Break	11. transfer 12. drop out 13. continue	14. transfer 15. drop out 16. continue	17. transfer 18. drop out 19. continue	20.	DITTO (components 31-40)

Thus, any component may be represented by a two-digital number (m, n) where m identifies both the time involved in study and the undergraduate-graduate sequence and where n identifies both degree level obtained and type of career decision. When m = 0 or 1, full-time study is indicated; and, conversely when m = 2 or 3, part-time study is indicated. At the same time, an even number for m (0,2) indicates that the graduate career directly follows the undergraduate training, while an odd number for m (1,3) indicates a break in training. Whatever the value of m, when n = 1, 2, or 3, the pre-M.A. level is indicated; when n = 4, 5, or 6, the M.A. level is indicated; when n = 7, 8, or 9, the pre-PhD level is indicated; n = 0 indicates PhD completion. Further, for n values from 1 to 6, increments of three indicate the same type of career decision but at varying stages in the career. Thus, when n = 1, 4, or 7, a decision to transfer is indicated; similarly, when n = 2, 5, or 8, a decision to drop out is indicated. (It should be noted that these same n values have been used in the decision-making model presented above.)

Combinations of these components form career patterns. For example, we can specify all the possible career patterns for "full-time straights" as follows: pattern 1 (indicating a pre-M.A. transfer), pattern 2 (indicating a pre-M.A. drop out), pattern 3+4 (indicating continuation until M.A. completion, then transferring), pattern 3+5 (indicating continuation until M.A., then dropping out), pattern 3+6+7 (continuing past the M.A., then transferring), pattern 3+6+8 (continuing past the M.A., then dropping out), pattern 3+6+9→10 (continuing until PhD completion). Similarly, other possible patterns can be suggested, the verbal descriptions following from the definitions just given; for example, pattern 2+13+16+18 indicates a pre-M.A. drop out after entering graduate study directly upon undergraduate completion; then a break in study, reentry at the pre-M.A. level, completion of the M.A., continuing past the M.A., and finally dropping out at the pre-PhD level, all study having been full-time.

These algebraic expressions can be used to describe along four dimensions the whole of any graduate career. For example, note two patterns occurring in our sample of twenty-five graduate women: a) pattern 22, indicating part-time study with no undergraduate-graduate break, and dropping out at the pre-M.A. level; b) pattern 3+5+13+15+16+19 . This pattern, which covers approximately twenty years, indicates that the entrant began full-time graduate study directly after the B.A., dropped out upon M.A. completion, after a break reentered full-time study at the pre-MA level, dropping out again after earning a second master's degree, again reentered graduate school full-time at the pre-M.A. level, continued past her third master's degree, and is now continuing at the pre-PhD level. The first four pattern components represent her pre-Michigan graduate career, the remaining three her Michigan career.

Note that while the component expressions do not indicate either the field of study or the place of study, by using either primes (') or negation marks (-) with the component symbols "non-sociology" study or "non-Michigan" career, respectively, could be indicated. Thus, in the previous example the career pattern would be written as $\underline{\overline{3}'+\overline{5}'+\overline{13}'+\overline{15}'+13+16+19}$. In most cases, however, this additional notation is unnecessary. We are assuming in this project that the careers being discussed are graduate careers in sociology at Michigan.

A further observation that can be made about the components is that "continuing" components and combinations of them (3, 3+6, 3+6+9) are unstable or incomplete and must be resolved in five ways (through combination with other components: 3+4, 3+6+8, and so forth). The time limit for resolution is variable but arbitrary. Resolution of unstable combinations ordinarily results from time-bound departmental requirements (such as requiring completion of the M.A. before prelims, requiring prelims within two years of full-time study, requiring PhD completion within seven years, and so forth).

Returning to our sample of twenty-five students the following career patterns were observed:

Pattern	Number
1	2
3 (unstable)	7
3+4	1
3+5	2
3+6+9 (unstable)	2
12	2
13 (unstable)	1
13+15	2
13+16+19 (unstable)	1
22	1
33 (unstable)	2
33+35 (unstable)	2
Total	25

We can see that seven complete patterns are distributed over twelve entrants; while five unstable or incomplete patterns, which have yet to be resolved, are distributed over the remaining thirteen entrants. Thus far, then, we have recognized and defined the types of careers that are possible; and we have specified the empirical dimensions along which they vary.

The Search for Patterning of Careers: Analytic Dimensions of Variation

A second step leading to the conceptualization of the graduate student woman career as a decision-making process was the specification of analytic dimensions of variation among the student careers. These analytic dimensions are input-attributes which entrants, or "career incumbents," bring into the system. Two such input-attributes emerged from the data as of particular significance in a graduate woman's student career. The two input-attributes are involvement orientation and sex identification orientation, each of which will be discussed in turn.

1. Involvement Orientation ascertains the degree to which an entrant is involved in the pursuit of sociology as a field of inquiry and future career field. The degree of commitment to graduate study in sociology, the salience of sociological study to her, the degree to which she is willing to forego or sacrifice participation in other areas of life for active study in sociology, and the overriding importance of studying sociology are all contained in the concept of "involvement.". This concept can be dichotomized into two polar types, "focused involvement" and "divertible involvement."

1a. Focused involvement characterizes those entrants who are relatively unsusceptible to diversions from their pursuit of sociological study; they are relatively closed to influences other than those directly involved with sociology. They "live and breathe" sociology, choosing to discuss sociology in informal conversation, to read sociological materials in their free time, to associate with like-minded persons whenever possible. They voluntarily and actively seek total immersion in the field.

1b. Divertible involvement characterizes those entrants who are relatively susceptible to diversions from their pursuit of sociological study; they are relatively open to influences other than those directly involved with sociology. They see the study of sociology as only one of their many interests, as only peripheral to their existence. They are not consumed by a desire to seek out and learn all the sociology that can be crammed into twenty-four hours; rather, their time is divided into "study-of-sociology-time" and "my time." They view a total immersion in the study of sociology as somewhat undesirable, unhealthy, and as something to be avoided.

2. Sex Identification Orientation, the second input-attribute, indicates the importance and centrality to an entrant of her role as woman as compared to her role as student. Usually if the woman role is important to an entrant, it will also be central or highly salient in her orientation to her student role; in other words, importance and centrality are positively associated. As with involvement, sex identification can also be dichotomized into "central sex identification" and "peripheral sex identification."

2a. Central Sex Identification Orientation characterizes those entrants whose woman role takes precedence over their student roles. The precedence of the woman role can be either intentional ("As young girls, we were oriented to living for a man. Everything else is peripheral to that. Even graduate study is peripheral; it just doesn't matter. What really matters to me is being appreciated as a fully developed mature woman."). Or it can be incidental, as an accompaniment to a woman's status in another area. ("I don't want to avoid the responsibilities of developing and using the talents I have...but if it's a question of doing well in school or in my marriage, if I can't handle both, then school goes out the window.")

Those entrants characterized by a central sex identification react to graduate study experiences with responses currently considered to be "feminine." (1. An entrant who transferred to a different field listed the following as one of the reasons for leaving sociology: "The difference in atmosphere between the ___ department and the sociology department was no minor factor in my switch into ___...People there enjoy what they're doing, and they have time for other people. I was drawn to this -- perhaps because I'm female... They're nicer there -- as professors and as friends. And I admit readily that atmosphere is important to me. I like pleasant work situations!" 2. "I don't feel close to anyone on the faculty. This doesn't make a difference in whether I'll continue to the PhD, but it does make a difference in whether I'd continue here rather than elsewhere.")

Recognition and reinforcement of her womanliness can either be important to entrants with central sex identification (1. "I firmly believe either good grades or a regular male friend - and preferably both - are necessary conditions for staying in graduate school for girls." 2. "All during my first year I felt like I would do anything else just to get out of here. I roomed with a group of other graduate student women. We all felt this way. We'd all talk about the problems of being here - particularly the social life. It was pretty bad that first year."). Or it can be problematic ("Girls have the dilemma of relating to men as either women or as persons. I've always tried to relate to the fellow students as a person rather than as a woman; I try to get them to talk to me, not to my 'woman' facade.").

2b. Peripheral Sex Identification Orientation characterizes those entrants whose student role takes precedence over their woman roles. Their responses to graduate student experiences are less characterized by womanly affect than are those of central sex identification oriented entrants. ("Not having any real friends on the faculty, not having someone to shoot the bull with, a lack of gemeinschaft -- these things are really not important; those things don't carry any weight in a decision toward staying here.") To those with peripheral sex identity their being "women" is of low salience and little importance; their womanhood is taken as given, not as problematic.

(Without straying too far afield into the psychological - or Freudian - implications of our input-attributes, we can suggest that essentially what we have defined are two dichotomous scales, one of masculinity and one of femininity with high and low values for each. Focused involvement can be viewed as a "high masculine" orientation; while on the other hand, divertible involvement can be seen as a "low masculine" orientation. Similarly, central sex identification can be viewed as a "high feminine" orientation, and peripheral sex identification as a "low feminine" orientation. While this could be pursued further, nevertheless for the purposes of this study, the input-attributes should be taken as previously defined.)

The two input-attributes can be combined to formulate an attribute space which generates four distinguishable types of student entrants. The attribute space may be represented as follows:

		Sex Identification Orientation	
		Central	Peripheral
Involvement Orientation	Focused	Distressed	Drivers
	Divertible	Drifters	Dabblers

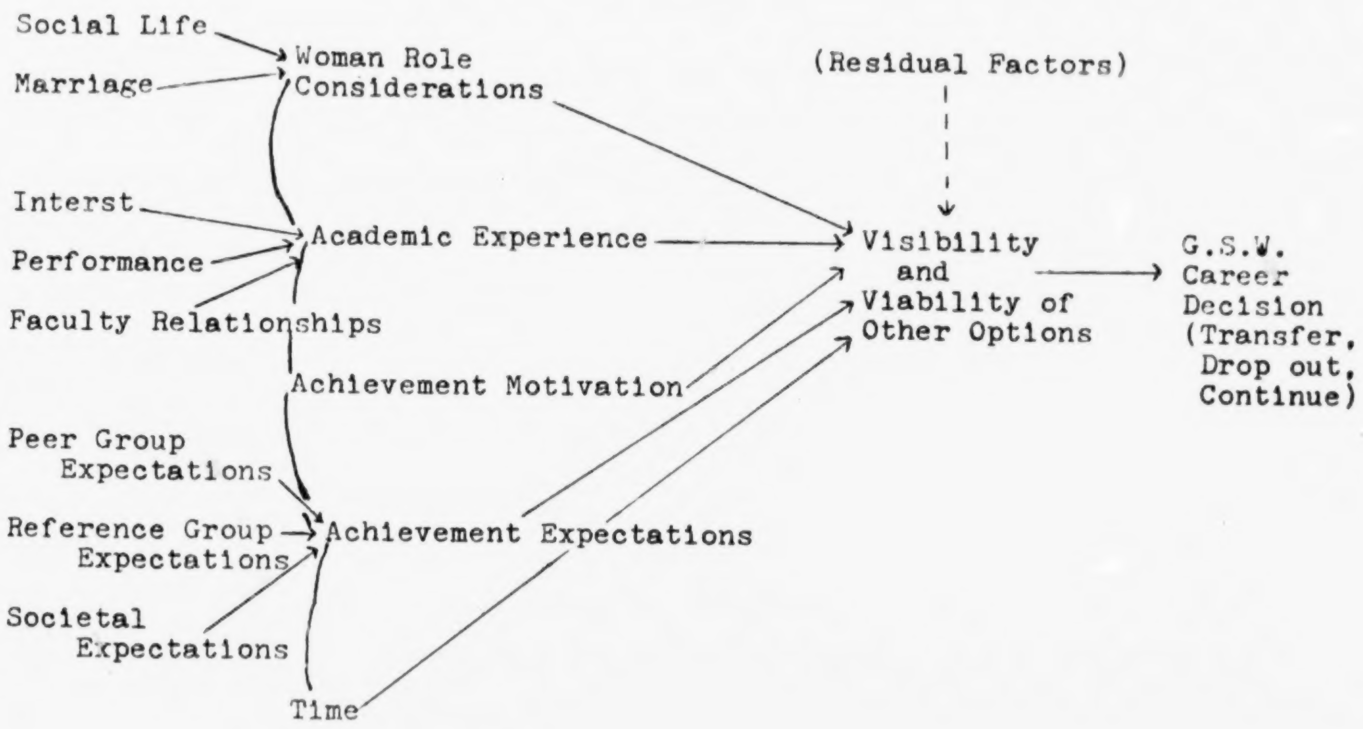
The four entrant polar types thus described by the cross-classification of the input-attributes are: 1) *Drivers* with focused involvement and peripheral sex identification orientations, 2) *Dabblers*, with divertible involvement and peripheral sex identification orientations, 3) Drifters with divertible involvement and central sex identification orientations, and 4) Distressed with focused involvement and central sex identification orientations.

Each of the twenty-five graduate women was assigned to the polar type she most closely approximated. This assignment resulted in the following distribution of types: two of the entrants were defined as Drivers, one as a Dabbler, sixteen as Drifters, and six as Distressed. A further refinement of the Distressed category was made by subdividing the entrants according to whether sex identification was central by "choice" or by "constraint." In other words, the central sex orientation of some of the Distressed was produced by the pressures of the entrants' woman roles; in the absence of such pressure the "constraint Distressed" could alternately have been classified as Drivers.

This specification of entrant types according to their input-attributes is of central importance in the analysis of this paper. The bulk of that analysis, presented in Chapter Four, deals with the differential effects of the set of determining variables upon these four types of entrants in producing patterns of graduate careers.

The Search for Determinants of Patterning

The particular set of determining variables dealt with in this analysis are derived from factors which were indicated in the data as being especially important in shaping graduate careers. These variables, their interrelationships, and their paths of influence in decision making are shown in the following diagram:


Social Life
Marriage
Woman Role Considerations
(Residual Factors)
Interst
Performance
Faculty Relationships
Academic Experience
Visibility and Viability of Other Options
G.S.W. Career Decision (Transfer, Drop out, Continue)
Achievement Motivation
Peer Group Expectations
Reference Group Expectations
Achievement Expectations
Societal Expectations
Time

Determining Variables Operating in Graduate Student Woman Career Decision-Making

Thus, throughout an entrant's career in graduate school five basic variables -- woman role considerations, the academic experience, achievement motivation, achievement expectations, and time -- operate continuously and concurrently to produce the series of decisions which, in the aggregate, form the graduate student career.

The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the definition of these variables and their exemplification with data from the interviews. Hypotheses as to the operation of these variables on the four entrant types will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Woman Role Considerations should be defined as those concerns of entrants that are incurred by the fact that the entrants are women. We are interested in these concerns insofar as they are relevant to the graduate career. The variable is comprised of two parts -- social life, which pertains especially to single entrants, and marriage, which usually pertains to married entrants.

A single entrant's social life can be active or nonexistent; in either case, the social life could be perceived as satisfactory or unsatisfactory and could operate positively or negatively on career decisions. Social life is not necessarily to be defined strictly as the act of dating; rather, such things as appearance and demeanor (which can affect social life) are also included under woman role considerations. To the extent that a single woman is contemplating marriage, marriage as a variable can also be relevant in her graduate career decision-making. The several meanings of this variable, as well as indications of interaction with other of the basic variables, can perhaps be best communicated by the entrants themselves in the following comments:

> The main problem is the social life.
>
> There's no time for parties and this is frustrating. I thought there'd be more partying, more getting together among students. We should have more parties.
>
> I feel a conflict between my view of myself as a woman and as a professional person. Both require time and effort. I always have to decide which is more important - to have clean ironed clothes or to finish reading this chapter. Both require time and effort. For instance, in order to write this paper, I've had to let the house go. I am basically feminine; I've been socialized sufficiently into being female that when I feel I'm not being feminine it bothers me. Sometimes in becoming involved in my work, I get the feeling of my being harsh, too work-oriented. And I don't like the way I'm being at that point.
>
> I find it difficult to interact with some of the faculty here. And this is partly sex-linked. I feel a great reluctance to engage in open verbal conflict with men. Women are taught not to argue with people, particularly not with men and not to pull them down or show that they're wrong. It's difficult to carry around this sort of training in graduate school where criticism is so important a part of school.

> The longer you're in school, the greater the pressures on you are to ever get married. A higher educational level limits the number of available and suitable men as marriage partners. Girls realize this, and knowing it adds to the frustration of being in graduate school young and single during your best years.
>
> I think relationships with students and faculty are important because this is a big campus. The only people I know are in sociology. The single men I could have been friends with were hard to communicate with. We couldn't be friends; they were always suspicious of your intentions, thinking marriage was the only thing on your mind. With both men students and faculty, once someone made it clear that "I'm married" it always cleared the air. Ever since I've become engaged, relationships have become much easier to establish with the fellows; the whole pattern has changed. They seem to be much more relaxed and comfortable.
>
> One of the things Jerry objected to was that I wasn't always free to go out with him or to do things when he wanted to do them. It's hard to date in graduate school; you feel you should be studying - but, then, you tell yourself you can't study all the time.
>
> You see, boys can establish relationships with other boy students and with the professors. But girls can't. There is a stigma attached to being a graduate student woman. "The only reason you're in grad school is that you're not married and you're looking for a husband." There is a tension between unmarried men and women students. The boys all think you're out for them. No one looks on being a grad student woman as positive. I feel like I should be positive about it, but I just can't be it here; Michigan - both the department and the men students - doesn't let you.

The "marriage" component of woman role considerations refers to the myriad obligations and demands made upon a woman as wife or mother. To the extent that the duties as well as the benefits of marriage affect an entrant's role as student, they are relevant in decision making. Again this aspect of woman role considerations is best exemplified through recourse to the data:

> My husband and being married gave me a better sense of perspective. It has taken grad school out of the central part of my life. The fact that grad school was made less central to my life has made it more feasible. Knowing that I have another area of life that is much more important really than grad school makes it easier to live with how important grad school is too.

> The other week I was told that the department wasn't satisfied with my work, that I was too marginal a student and that I was going to have to perform a little better if I wanted to stay in the department. Well, I just want them to know that when it's a choice between staying with my child at the hospital and studying for an exam the next day, then I just don't give a hang about school.
>
> I know for me it was crucially important to have my womanhood coped with and provided for. Now that I'm married the uncertainty about my life is gone. Ultimately in the final analysis, I don't give a damn about graduate school or the degree. The rest of my life is so much more important.
>
> I think of the lectures on Durkheim, but somehow they seem so far away from the clothes I have to wash. And when I'm settling fights among the boys, I know that sociology might be helpful sometime somewhere but that so far it doesn't apply to me and my life!
>
> I would say that I am two hands: the right is for my family and it must always be free for them..always and solely for them. Whatever else I do is with my left hand; it is secondary. In case of emergency, I must be the one physically present to oversee the matter; I must be the one to drop secondary matters for the primary concern of family. A man has one body; it is devoted to his work; it is used for his vocation. A woman is one body plus many more. Any of the other ones can interrupt her life at any point. My family is my life; anything else is an extension of it.

Academic experience pertains specifically to the entrants' experiences in and reactions to events occurring within the academic environment. This variable represents the joint effects of three interacting components: performance, interest, and faculty relationships. Performance refers to the quality of an entrant's work while in graduate school and is measured by semester grades, preliminary examination grades, professorial comments upon and reactions to papers and other student efforts, the type of departmental funding for graduate study, and so forth. Interest refers to student reactions to the in-depth study of sociology as mediated through course work and the department program for such study. Faculty relationships refer to the nature and extent of an entrant's contact with departmental personnel, particularly in out-of-classroom situations. Each of these three components of the academic variable can operate positively or negatively in career decision-making; but because of their interactive effects, all three are likely to take on the same value, either positive or negative. A few comments of students can illustrate these variables:

> There are many times that I would have left to do anything else. Especially first year I hated it -- the courses were bad, DAS was a mess; I was disgusted. At those times I felt like I would do anything else to get out of here. It was a problem even during exams -- I'd be sitting there taking an exam and ask myself why bother finishing the exam; I'd have to force myself to finish the questions.
>
> I have no close connection with the department. I have no one to identify with or to work closely with. And this has been disappointing. I have given up my ideals, and I'm now playing the academic game without my idealism about it. Still, I feel I'm learning a lot.
>
> I've had no problems with motivation. I enjoy this! I find the courses tremendously interesting in themselves. When you see the point at which it springs out of philosophy, it makes the whole field interesting to me.
>
> There is such an enormous amount of reading required -- but no time for real studying -- in 624, for instance. There is so much hack work around here. It's unchallenging, unstimulating. You just get buried in monstous reading lists. I got terribly excited about school at first. By the time I got to this year, I was so tired psychologically! Now I just can't push myself to do anything.

Achievement motivation is defined as the impetus that derives from viewing a degree as a reward or payoff for expenditures of time and energy; this is the basic entrepreneurial motive of reaping dividends on investments. The operation of this variable is exemplified in the following statements:

> I don't want to have a career in this field without a PhD. There is enough of a feeling around here that you aren't worth anything without it. The PhD legitimates you. I think the degree is more important for a woman because she's at a disadvantage anyway when it comes to getting jobs just because she's a woman.

> Having the degree, being a PhD isn't the motivation for getting it for me. That's not really why I'm here working for it.
>
> In order to qualify for research grants and independent teaching, you have to have a PhD; they necessitate it. If you want to do independent work, design and run your own project, teach what and how you wnat to teach, the degree is necessary. Without the degree, it's very difficult to do the kinds of research that I want to do and to teach the way I want to. Without an advanced degree, there's no opportunity to do much.
>
> My whole focus now is on being out. I just grit my teeth and hack my way through it. It's very hard with all these readings to go through for prelims. My mind's not on it. I don't absorb anything. But I have gone ahead with this just for the M.A. -- just to have something to show for the time I've spent here. I manage now by threatening myself with not getting even an M.A. if I don't do some work.

The achievement expectations variable is defined in this study as the entrant's perceptions of the expectations of others regarding her PhD completion. Achievement expectations is a composite of the expectations of three different "others" categories: the peer group, the reference group, and the general society. Specific definitions of the peer group and the reference group varied by entrant; in general, however, the former was comprised of families of orientation and/or origin and friends, while the latter was comprised of professorial-professional groups. Generalized societal expectations are manifested in norms governing the assignment of roles by sex. The operation of this variable is shown in the following statements:

> Not knowing any role models -- women who have been able to combine an educational career with the rest of their life-- makes it difficult to conceive of a satisfactory life and this makes a PhD seem less desirable, less worth the cost.
>
> One thing I noticed about (school to which entrant is transferring) in comparison with U of M is in their attitudes towards completing the degree. At (school) the attitude was one of "Of course you'll finish your degree. There's

no reason in the world you shouldn't; and we'll do everything we can to help you." They encourage students to finish in part just by expecting them to do so. And they seemed particularly encouraging about women; my being married and a woman doesn't matter to them a bit. At Michigan, on the other hand, all you hear about is how many women -- and men -- drop out, leave, are kicked out, etc. And, of course, there's the favorite statistic of only one woman PhD in the past 10 years. They give you the impression that if you ever get a degree it'll be over their dead bodies and by the sheerest stroke of luck. Further, and this is what really makes it bad, the department doesn't care whether you finish or not, just so you don't interrupt their own research. I can tell you that this difference in attitude on the part of (school) has made a difference in my whole approach to graduate school.

But a woman has a more subtle disadvantage. People don't go out of their way to encourage you. If you do go on, that't unusual. But no one sees it as a tragedy if you drop out. There is a lack of positive support throughout the system for a woman. So women can slither out without losing face, whereas a man can't do it so easily. Women don't have the pressures a man has. This lack cuts in and works against a woman's favor.
...Getting positive support is difficult. You're constantly under pressure to perform. Well, you need both pressure and support to keep at it. Women get the pressure but not the support that men get. No one feels that they have to stay in school as men have to stay. It's a crime! We just let women fall by the wayside just because it's not expected that women will finish. It's sort of an extra if a woman gets graduate training. But it needs to be seen as perfectly normal, as nothing out of the ordinary.

My mother doesn't care if I go on for a PhD -- just so long as I'm happy. My father, I think, really feels that a woman's place is in her home; but he's the one who insisted that I go to grad school so he can't complain now. My husband's parents are more old-fashioned and would prefer that I stop and stay home to care for their grandchildren. But none of this really matters to us. Our families have never entered into it.

At home it's the teachers who act so funny when they find out that I'm working on my doctorate. At home I just hide the fact that this is what I'm working on, because it makes the people I'm around nervous. The M.A. was all right; people could handle that, but the PhD seems to put you in another class. Your extra education makes them uncomfortable.

There are a lot more pressures, internal and societal pressures, to keep men here. Basically there is the pressure for a man to have a career. If I want to, I can spend the rest of my life growing flowers. Women have a tremendous freedom and range of choices of what to do with themselves. Women have the right to withdraw. Marriage offers one of the easiest outs, particularly if you can manage pregnancy. You don't have to say that the real reason I'm leaving is that I'm unhappy here and I can't take it any longer.

One of the problems in planning and doing the things I want to do is that it's hard to point to someone and say, see, she did it and so can I, because no one has. The values of devotion to a family and duty to husband are taken from my mother. But I have no one to look to for the career part of it.

There is a general expectation in this culture that men will and have to succeed, whereas women are given a certain latitude. There is not pressure on me to be a good sociologist. However, there is pressure on me to make a good marriage and to have properly socialized little ones.

Most of our friends are graduate students so we all share the same types of experiences. Some of us like it more than others, but we all are going through the same types of things. My husband and I don't feel any different from other people just because we're students, since all of the people we know and go around with are students too.

The people who expect me to have a negative attitude to graduate school are older people, my parents' friends, my husband's parents. But I don't get this kind of expectation from my husband, definitely not. Apparently there are some people who don't like their wives' continuing. Well, my husband is determined that I will continue. He keeps encouraging when I get disgusted or discouraged. So I get constant encouragement -- which makes a big difference in my outlook toward school.

My commitment is characterized by tentativeness; I'll leave if I don't like what I'm doing or where I am. But you really do have to make sacrifices. For girls, it does take a sort of social isolate to do it. For guys, it's culturally sanctioned to devote several years to preparing for a career and then to make it central to your life. For girls it's a new thing, not totally accepted. Either you have to have tremendous self-confidence or else just learn not to be concerned with the question of "am I sacrificing my sense of wholeness, am I having to give up being a woman?" You have to convince yourself that you're not.

> The people that I'm closest to in the department and outside of it are not going on for their PhD's either. None of us is quite ready to stay on.

Time is a conglomerate variable and enters the decision-making process in a variety of guises. For some entrants time is perceived in terms of their age; for others, time in graduate school is measured in terms of sacrificed life experiences; still others take a short-run view of time: time is seen as a logistically problematic, scarce commodity. (Further, in terms of analysis, we must recognize that PhD attainment occurs over time, so that not only a structural but a processual conceptualization of the relationship among entrants' input-attributes and the determining variables is necessary.) The various meaning of this variable can be concretized through illustrations from the data:

> I've changed in the two years that I've been here; I know I have. When I first came, I knew exactly what I was doing; I was very committed to a career in this field. Now I'm two years older -- and those two years are probably very crucial in the life cycle of a woman. For one thing, my interests have changed. I've begun to realize that I want to be a wife as well as a sociologist. And I've begun to see that there are going to be grave problems in being both. Also, I've begun to feel that I have very little time to do all the things I want to do -- to travel, to experience other areas of life. I wonder if spending four years in the library is the best use I can make of these years.

> Sure I was enthusiastic when I came! But now I'm just tired. Last semester I worked so hard, but I resented it. I don't know...I just feel that they were asking too much. I am just so tired of being under this pressure all the time -- I keep thinking of all the other things I could be doing instead of being here!

> After graduation my options were either to work on my M.A. on a full-time basis and then enter the doctoral program or to do it on a part-time basis. I chose the latter, making my decision after thinking about how much time I could spend being a student and how much time I wanted to be a wife.

> Graduate school is just about the right amount of time. I have allotted these years to grad school. No, I don't feel a time squeeze of any sort. I don't plan on getting married until after grad school.
>
> Do you realize that these are the best years of our lives? This is the only time we'll really be free. And here we are wasting them in this subhuman existence.
>
> I don't have time for dating now. I want to meet people on the one hand, but I avoid this. I don't hang around the library or the Union where I could run into other people. I want to do other things now...like my research or just reading theory. These things are more important to me right now.
>
> There's another conflict too. I feel sometimes sort of like I'm short-changing my husband. He'd want to talk and I couldn't spare more than forty minutes because of the work pressure. And I feel guilty about our thrown-together dinners.
>
> Certainly time is a major factor in my decisions about continuing. There are two possibilities for my husband and me. We could both go on to school until we both get our degrees and postpone having a family for several more years. Or I could stop now and we could have children and then I could go back to school later. A lot of our friends are ahead of us; they already have two and three children. We're getting older, too; it's time to get started being normal human beings; it's time we started living normally. Ther is a kind of semi-unrealism about this student existence. And we want to start having kids, but not in this type of existence.
>
> I treasure the hours I have at the library and I treasure the ones I have at home. I don't feel that I can take extra time to spend with either the students or the faculty or at the Christmas parties or the picnics.

The diagram illustrating the operation of the determining variables indicates that the influence of these variables on decision-making is transmitted through their effects on the visibility and viability of other options. This mediating variable operates by implication; that is, terminal decisions imply that other options are both visible and viable; decisions to continue imply that they are not. Further, "residual factors," which are analogous to "historic accidents," are idiosyncratic elements which vary by individual entrants in making options appear salient or feasible. Because of the nature of these variables, they have not been dealt with further in the analysis.

Summary of the Chapter

The task of this chapter was to set forth our method of analysis. We proposed that the graduate career be conceptualized as a decision-making process and that specific careers were generated by the aggregation of a series of decisions to either continue the career or to terminate it by dropping out or transferring. These decisions were suggested to result from the differential operation of a set of determining variables -- woman role considerations, academic experience, achievement motivation, achievement expectation, and time -- on each of four distinguishable entrant types. The four entrant types -- Drivers, Dabblers, Drifters, and Distressed -- were defined according to their involvement orientation and their sex identification orientation, the two input-attributes of the entrants.

In the next chapter hypotheses as to expected career patterns and the modes of operation of the variables in decision-making for each entrant type will be generated from this model. It is to this task that we now turn.

Chapter Four. Application of the Model: Hypothesis Generation and Testing

As the chapter title suggests, the focus of this section of the study is the generation of hypotheses from the analytic model presented in the preceeding chapter and their subsequent testing on the basis of our data. For each of the four entrant types a broad hypothesis as to expected career patterns and as to the relevant variables in decision-making is presented. Then, secondary suggestions are made about the operation of the determining variables upon career decisions. These hypotheses are then tested by inspection of the data insofar as possible.

It should be pointed out that the first, or hypothesis generating section, is written in the "hypothetical indicative" (analogous to the "ethnographic present"). Various descriptive statements are made about each of the entrant types throughout this section. It should be kept in mind, however, that these statements are hypothetical; they are derived from the analytic model; but, nevertheless, each such statement should be read as an empirical question. And because of the nature and limitations of our data, many of them remain as empirical questions.

Hypothesis Generation

1. DRIVERS: The orientations of the women in this category are completely consonant with the demands of their environment. These entrants are not hindered in pursuing their interests in sociology by sex role anxieties; and their student careers are bolstered, indeed governed, by their strongly focused involvement in the discipline.

The variables that can be expected to be most relevant to this type are the variables that govern the academic experience. It can be predicted that so long as the academic performance is satisfactory and the interest in participation in the discipline remains at a high level, entrants of this type will continue their student careers until completion of the PhD.

"Satisfactory" relationships with faculty members are more likely to be defined by these entrants in terms of their being treated as tyro professionals. Interaction with professors on a professional level is a more important source of reinforcement to them than interaction on a socio-emotionally oriented level. However, any of these relationships, whether professionally or socio-emotionally oriented, is of secondary importance to these women; participation in such relationships is "nice, but not necessary." Their primary source of motivation or impetus to follow their careers is internal; it derives only secondarily from external encouragement. This suggests that, for these entrants, the oft-mentioned dearth of faculty support in this department is not a deterrent to continuation of their careers.

Woman-role considerations are by definition of limited salience to these entrants. It can be hypothesized that a certain selectivity operates to minimize potential woman-role problems for these women. That is, whether single or married, they would tend to avoid close involvement with men for whom their focused involvement and sex orientations would be problematic. Further, among single entrants of this type, an inactive social life would tend not to be a source of concern. The anxiety produced by lack of reinforcement of their womanness would not be a relevant concern; for these women the problem would not exist.

The impetus that derives from desiring a return on investments (the achievement motivation variable), while it cannot be discounted entirely as an influencing factor in the decisions of these entrants to continue their careers, is of minor importance relative to the academic experience variables. The degree as a merit badge for hard-spent time and effort is not a relevant image for these women.

It can be hypothesized that the achievement expectations of her peers and the generalized societal non-expectation of PhD achievement by women will not play a major role in the decision-making of these entrants by virtue of their particular sex identification orientations. Their own sex identification is of peripheral concern to them; the opinions of others about "proper sex roles" can, therefore, be expected to be hardly pertinent.

Reference group expectation of achievement is a more problematic variable and its operation in decision-making is dependent, of course, upon the nature of the entrants' reference groups. If an entrant's reference group is comprised of the departmental faculty personnel, and if those personnel continually reiterate to the entrant their expectations of female non-achievement, then it is conceivable that a graduate student's decision about her career could be slightly influenced to conform to these expectations. We would not argue that negative reference group expectations are a sufficient cause of a student's decision to terminate her career; however, it is highly possible that they could operate as contributory factors in such a decision. Similarly, a reference group comprised of those persons considered to be one's future professional colleagues (a not-unlikely reference group for these entrants) who make known by intimation or forthright declaration their views of women sociologists as non-contributing quasi-professionals could have much the same effect on the decisions of this type of entrant.

On the other hand, positive expectations of PhD achievement and of future professional contribution on the part of the entrants' referents could be expected to be a major source of encouragement for decisions to continue their student careers and to plan for full-time professional careers. It can be hypothesized that in the absence of supportive reference groups, these women tend to construct hypothetical composite role-model reference groups comprised of known and fanciful women achievers; and that these semi-realistic images serve both as "proof that it can be done" and as "models for how to do it," thus providing the entrants with positive support for continuing their careers.

Time as a variable enters into the decision-making process in a number of guises and has differential effects upon a career decison. These women tend not to view the time spent in graduate school as a period of dissipation of life years that might be spent elsewhere or as a block of time that undercuts one's chances to participate in other areas of life (e.g., to travel, to work, to marry, to rear children). They tend not to view time (and "youth") as a scarce commodity that is to be hoarded rather than squandered in graduate school, because they are not particularly worried about those woman role considerations that lead to such a view (i.e., concern for getting married and staying attractive until then, rearing a family early to prevent being the oldest PTA mother, and so on). Time considerations such as these tend not to enter into the decisions of entrants of this type.

The desire to begin a professional career and, therefore, to earn the PhD as quickly as possible makes time relevant in a decision in which transferring to another institution is seen as an option. The loss of time (via loss of credit hours) incurred in departmental transfers would tend to mitigate against a decison to leave; time, in this way, would tend to undergird the probabilities that these entrants will continue their careers to PhD completion in a single department.

In sum then, the focused involvement and peripheral sex identification orientations are seen as characteristics selected for survival in the academic environment. We hypothesize that for the entrants so characterized, the variables relating to academic experience are most relevant in their decison-making; and that, further, their careers will tend to follow the pattern of continuation to PhD completion.

2. Dabblers: Dabblers are characterized both by a low degree of involvement in the discipline and a low degree of sex identification. This combination of input-attributes, while not productive of conflicts, nevertheless mitigates against survival in the academic environment. A low degree of involvement would manifest itself in a weak concern with what transpires during the course of the career and little interest in pursuing it. Therefore these entrants can be predicted to have career patterns that terminate either before or upon completion of the master's degree. Further, it can be hypothesized that these entrants entered the system with the intention of pursuing only short-term careers, terminating at the M.A. level.

The variable that would be most relevant for a decision to continue the career to entrants of this type would be that of achievement motivation . The rationale of this variable is simple and hinges upon the desire to have something to show for the time spent in graduate school. This motivation could be functional even in cases of almost no involvement in the discipline and of almost no academically-peripheral links to the university area (social ties).

Other determining variables either are not highly salient in a decision to continue or operate to maximize the visibility of other options, which would produce a decision to terminate the career. For example, by definition, neither woman role considerations nor the academic experience variables are central in the decision-making of these entrants. Whether a satisfactory social life and/or positive academic experiences could induce an entrant to continue until completion of the master's degree rather than terminating her career prior to that point given a weak achievement motivation is an empirical question. Certainly, positive values for these two variables in combination with a strong determination "to have something to show for my time" could be expected to make graduate school a more attractive option, which would tend to produce a decision to continue until the master's level is reached.

The achievement expectations of others may or may not be relevant to this type of entrant. On the one hand, the general societal expectations of woman roles would presumably not be particularly relevant in a Dabbler's career decision by the same reasoning that pertains to the Driver's above (see page 42). On the other hand, the expectations of faculty and professional personnel of female non-achievement may be relevant insofar as it reinforces her own expectations of non-achievement. This would support the tendency to terminate the graduate career by offering a rationale for non-performance.

Similarly, the entrant's perception of time may or may not be relevant in making other options seem desirable. Given her input-attributes, a perception of a time-squeeze (that is, seeing herself as having a limited amount of time in which to pursue various interests) in which time is a highly relevant variable would tend to produce a decision to opt out of the graduate program. Alternately, the same final decision, that is, leaving the program, could be produced by an entrant's feeling no time pressure to complete the doctoral program at this specific point in her life. In either case, entrants of the Dabbler type can be expected to view this period in life as a time of experimentation with a variety of options, whether that experimentation is harried (produced by a perception of a time squeeze, as in the former case) or leisurely (produced by a perception of a time-expanse, as in the latter case); and both views would tend to produce early terminal career patterns.

In summary, we can predict that Dabblers will tend toward decisions to leave the graduate program early in their career. The variable most relevant in producing a decision to continue the career is that of achievement motivation. The other determining variables, however, tend to maximize the visibility of other options and thus lead to terminating decisions.

The first two types of entrants are similar in that they both manifest the peripheral sex identification orientation. This form of the sex identification input-attribute is compatible with the "masculine" nature of the academic environment. That is, primacy or survival value is attached to such "masculine" qualities as aggressiveness, "hard-nosed" analytic power, competitiveness, drive, and so forth. Because neither Drivers nor Dabblers consider their womanness salient or problematic, they are relatively unhindered by anxieties about the integration of their sex role conceptualizations with their involvement orientations or achievement aspirations. Their career patterns are clear-cut; the Drivers are environmentally selected for "success;" they will tend to achieve the PhD. The Dabblers are environmentally "selected out" of the system; they will tend to leave the program.

The other two entrant types, the Drifters and the Distressed, however, by virtue of their central sex identification orientation, are in a conflict situation in the academic environment. The specific nature of the conflicts, the variables that are relevant to them, and the means of resolution, serve to distinguish the Drifters from the Distressed. However, both entrant types are similar in that the basis of the conflicts that arise for each is found in the juxtaposition of contradictory masculine-feminine values in the academic woman role.

Because of this basic conflict, which differentially affects the decision-making of the Drifters and the Distressed, the equifinality that characterizes the careers of the Drivers and Dabblers no longer applies. This means, therefore, that a variety of career patterns can be expected for each of the final two entrant types.

3. Drifters: Drifters are characterized by their divertible involvement orientation and their central sex identification; in the "masculine-feminine" rhetoric, they are "low-masculine/high-feminine" in type. According to this we would not expect these entrants to have any difficulties with a sex role self-conceptualization; they are women above all, and whatever other roles they may have are subordinate to their woman roles.

The implication of their input-attributes for their graduate careers is that the locus of conflict for these women may be found in the fact that success in the academic environment demands a "high-masculine" characterization; it demands a focused involvement which these entrants do not have. Therefore, we can predict that when conditions are favorable, that is, when pursuing a graduate career presents no critical problems for these women in other areas of their lives, then entrants of this type will tend to continue their student careers. However, when faced with role conflicts, these women are more likely to opt out of the graduate program. Their careers "drift" according to contingencies or conditions in their non-academic lives.

Although all of the determining variables are relevant in shaping the careers of these entrants, woman role considerations can be predicted to have proportionately greater significance in any decision than the other variables. Some of the variables operate under certain circumstances to foster a positive career decision (that is, a decision to continue), while under other circumstances they may lead to a negative career decision. Rarely will any one variable be a sufficient causal factor in producing a given decision; rather, decisions tend to be generated by a balancing out of several variables operating simultaneously. We can look at each of the variables in turn to see possible modes of influence and then look at various possible effects of combinations of variables.

Time as a variable is generally a debilitating factor, operating negatively on career decisions. This is so primarily because the time that is involved in graduate school -- both in the short run and in the long run -- tends to compress the time available for those activities that are rated by these women as higher priority items than graduate school. For the unmarried students full-time, concentrated involvement in graduate study precludes a full-blown, active social life. Further, the several years required for completion of a PhD are seen as just that many years of a hypoactive social life, which in turn increases the probability of remaining unmarried-a negatively valued status, according to the input-attributes of these women. In short, for unmarried Drifters time is a scarce commodity; it requires that one balance continued graduate study against the possibilities of marriage. If these possibilities are perceived as poor during the graduate career or are predicted to be poor upon completion of graduate study, then these entrants will tend toward terminal career patterns.

The time variable operates in much the same way for married Drifters. In the short run, graduate school limits the time available for the necessary duties associated with housewifery and motherhood. If such time pressures become severe, they give impetus to a decision to close out one activity; these women are hardly likely to choose divorce or infanticide over continued graduate study. Taking a more long-run approach, the years spent in graduate school postpone the child-bearing period. For women interested in having families while they are still young, the lengthy time commitment required for PhD completion becomes a drawback and thus becomes a consideration in decision-making.

As with the previously-discussed entrant-types, the time already spent in a graduate career is a factor operative for positive career decision. Those who have already invested a considerable length of time in graduate study will be less likely to discard that investment through leaving or transferring if more profitable dividends can be gained by a decision to continue.

Achievement expectations in general would tend to operate negatively in career decisions. These entrants can be expected to be more influenced by the expectations of non-achievement on the part of the generalized society and the professorial-professional reference groups and less likely to attempt to counteract these by the construction of hypothetical reference groups, the mechanism suggested as operative for the Driver entrants. Further, it can be suggested that these entrants will be likely to have as reference groups their mothers and "other normal women," whose expectations of achievement are not only compatible with the professorial reference groups but whose life styles are also compatible with societal expectations.

The combined weight of these expectations can be counterbalanced by peer group expressions of support and encouragement to continue the career. However, any ambivalence on the part of the peer group (husband, friends) about the desirability of a continued student career could be expected to disproportionately weight the negative effect of the achievement expectation variable on decision-making.

The achievement motivation variable operates positively in decision-making; however, it is likely that whenever this variable becomes the major impetus for continuing a career, the career is already in its final stages. That is, this variable is a desperation measure; it can be seen as a "grit your teeth and hold out until there is some pay-off for your time," type of drive to be used as a last resort. Those for whom this variable is operative in decision-making can be expected to drop out of the program once a plateau is reached (for example, the M.A. and Candidate of Philosophy degrees could be seen as desirable stopping points by these entrants).

The effect of the academic experience variable on decision-making is a function of the inter-relationship of its three component variables. Although their interest in sociology can be suggested as a major factor in the Drifters' initial entry into graduate school, the importance of interest as a positive factor in governing the subsequent course of their careers can be predicted to diminish over time unless it is undergirded by satisfactory academic performance and supportive relationships with faculty members. This is so because an academic interest in sociology is only one of many interests of these women; it must compete with other demands for her time and energy resources.

The competitive position of sociology depends not only on the strength of the pulls of competing interests but also on the reinforcement that a woman might receive in areas closely related to pursuing her sociological interests through graduate study. Because the pursuit of her interest in sociology can take proportionately more effort than an entrant's other interests, without reinforcement and encouragement from external sources an entrant's interest in sociology can be predicted to dissipate easily. Waning interest in sociology obviously will operate in favor of negative career decisions.

Academic performance, likewise, is closely tied both to an entrant's interest level and to the perceived quality of her relationships with members of the department. High levels of interest and close relationships with faculty can both act as strong motivating factors in good academic performance. On the other hand, waning interest and poor or nonexistent faculty contact can have the opposite effect.

Moreover, academic performance reflects the importance of non-academic demands on the student's time and energy resources. These resources are limited and due to the input-attributes of these entrants, the student role must compete for them with such activities as dating, familial obligations, and the entrant's pursuit of non-sociological interests. A "vicious circle" can be set in motion here that would tend to produce negative career decisions: the division of time resources among several demands means that these women spend proportionately lesser amounts of their time on sociology in comparison with other students; therefore, their academic performance tends to be relatively low; poor performance contributes to a declining interest in sociology; as an entrant becomes less concerned with sociology relative to her other interests, she metes out even less time to sociology, so that her performance suffers and her interests in sociology weaken still further; other options become increasingly visible and viable to her; eventually she opts out of the program.

Relationships with the faculty tend to be of great importance to these entrants. Satisfactory contacts can be predicted to counteract or to prevent interest dissipation and to motivate these entrants to higher performance levels; conversely, unsatisfactory or nonsupportive relationships can have the opposite effect.

In sum, the three variables comprising the academic experience are closely interrelated. A positive value for one is associated with positive values for the others; when the variables are positive, academic experience can be expected to contribute to a decision to continue the career. However, a negative value for any of the three is likely to weight the entire academic experience varialbe negatively, which would tend to foster a decision to terminate the student career.

Woman role considerations for these entrants are of key significance in determining their careers. The careers of married Drifters can be expected to be a function of their husband's careers. For example, if the husband is to be in the university area for an extended period of time, and particularly if he is also a graduate student, the entrant can be expected to continue her career. On the other hand, if he is leaving the area, the entrant can be predicted to terminate her career.

Similarly, the demands of a family can be expected to greatly influence the nature of the decisions married Drifters make about their careers by affecting such other variables as academic performance or achievement expectations. Whenever academic/familial conflicts arise, these entrants can be expected to resolve them in favor of the family.

For single Drifters social life can be both a positive and a negative factor. Two basic assumptions can be made here: (1) in the case of these entrants, satisfactory social life is important; and (2) graduate school by its very nature inhibits a full social life. These two assumptions suggest various ways, then, that this variable could operate in the decision-making of single Drifters.

All other things being equal, we can hypothesize that those entrants whose social life is continuously poor are more likely than socially satisfied entrants to be discontent in their present environment and to seek options elsewhere. Without some positive reinforcement of their central sex identification these entrants can be expected to be oriented toward terminal career patterns.

The single Drifters who are satisfied with their social lives face a problem deriving from the second of the two assumptions presented above. Time spent in pursuing a full social life is time that cannot be spent on studies. Regardless of the entrant's valuation of her time expenditures, it is possible that time spent on non-academic pursuits detracts from one's overall academic performance. Thus, while a satisfactory social life can make a graduate career more palatable to these entrants, at the same time it operates to undercut one of the bases of success in the academic environment. If the conflict assumes either-or dimensions, it can be predicted on the basis of their input-attributes that these entrants will tend toward terminal career decisions.

Predictions of career patterns likely to result from joint operations of combinations of the determining variables yield the following hypotheses:

1. When woman role considerations are favorable for continuation of the graduate career, decisions to continue are likely to be made.
2. When woman role considerations are unfavorable for continuation of the career, terminal decisions are likely to be made.
3. In cases in which woman role considerations are incompatible with decisions that are made, a strong positive value for achievement motivation is likely to be operative. In such cases, however, the decision tends to govern a short time span of the career; eventual resolution of the incompatibility will tend toward the direction of the value of woman role considerations, and the career pattern will eventually take on the form posited in the first two hypotheses.

From these hypotheses, further tentative predictions can be derived (in which a "positive" value of a variable would effect a decision to continue while a "negative" value would effect a decision to terminate): 1) When woman role considerations are negative while the academic experience is positive, married Drifters can be expected to drop out, single Drifters to drop out or transfer. 2) When woman role considerations and achievement expectations are negative, Drifters can be expected to terminate regardless of the value of the academic experience. When the first two variables are negative while academic experience and achievement motivation are both positive, a decision to continue can be expected. 3) When woman ròle considerations and academic experience are both positive, the entrant will tend to continue. 4) When woman role considerations and achievement motivation are positive while academic experience is negative, a decision will be made to continue or to transfer.

In summary, the graduate student experiences of the Drifters are characterized by conflicts which devolve from their "high-feminine/ low-masculine" orientations in an environment in which success is predicated upon "high-masculine" qualities. The decisions they make relative to their careers will tend to be governed by factors which resolve conflicts in favor of their sex role considerations. The pattern of their careers can be said to conform to contingency demands operative in the lives of these entrants outside the academic realm.

4. Distressed: The last set of entrants, the Distressed, are characterized by both a focused involvement with sociology and a central sex identification orientation. In other words, they are both "high masculine" and "high feminine," and therein lies the locus of their conflicts. The major conflict for these women springs from the fact that a maximization or focus on one orientation entails minimization of the other; and these entrants by virtue of their input-attributes are trying to maximize both.

Unlike the Drifters, whose direction of conflict resolution is relatively clear cut, the Distressed are pulled in the directions both of following through on their intellectual interests and of following through on their sex role identifications. Moreover, they cannot make the equally clear-cut career decisions of the Drivers, because both orientations are significant to them.

The Distressed are in a highly vulnerable position; their input-attributes render them as susceptible to "failure" in the academic environment as to "success" in that environment. For these reasons, predictions of possible career patterns for these entrants are difficult to formulate.

As was noted in the previous chapter the Distressed have been subdivided into those who are constrained by the sex roles they play (as wives and mothers) to have a central sex orientation and those whose central sex orientation is the result of choice (or perhaps more accurately, the result of biological growth). This distinction is relevant particularly in specifying the etiology of the conflicts that arise for each of the two types of Distressed.

All of the determining variables would seem to be relevant in the career decisions of these entrants. But, again because of their particular input-attributes, the combined operation of woman role considerations and academic experience tend to cancel each other out (as will be explicated below) thus leaving the other three variables to weight the decision-making toward a particular career option. Even after specifying possible modes of operation of these variables on their decision-making, however, we are left with the necessity of stating that the ultimate career decisions that these entrants make may be the results of idiosyncratic characteristics not covered by either the input-attributes or the determining variables.

For the "constraint" entrants, relative to woman role considerations, conflicts in their graduate careers would tend to arise from home-based difficulties. Unlike the Drifters who, faced with similar problems (such as sick children, housework duties, husband leaving the area), are able to view the graduate career as the disharmonious element in their lives, the Distressed tend to view both the graduate career and the home situation as equally valuable elements in their lives. A decision as to which to "opt" for, while as equally clear-cut for them as for the Drifters (they have to opt for their families--graduate school is essentially the more expendable), can be hypothesized as made not without some internal conflict or even resentment of being constrained to opt for the home over the desire to give priority to the graduate career. Bluntly put, for these women, conflicts can arise because their families get in the way of their graduate careers.

Conflicts for the "choice" Distressed would arise when their social needs were not being met. This condition could be caused by either a hyper- or a hypo-active social life. That is, it is conceivable that equal strain could be caused by an overly serious social involvement as by little or no reinforcement of one's social desires. The anxieties resulting from either situation would be sufficient to hinder concentrated involvement in the graduate career.

The academic experience variable will tend to be positive for these entrants. Their interest can be assumed to be high by definition. Similarly, their performance more than likely can be expected to be satisfactory, even under conflict conditions arising from the operation of other variables. Further, because of their professional interest in sociology these entrants might be expected to have both supportive and professionally-oriented relationships with faculty members, which would undergird the positive value of the academic variable. However, even the absence of such relationships would tend not to seriously undercut either the interest or the performance of these entrants. Therefore, in general this variable can be expected to operate positively in a career decision.

In the event of a negative value for academic experience, however, these women can be expected to give it considerable weight in their career decisions, because of the importance to them of performing well in the field. Negative valuation of their academic endeavors would be considered a serious blow to their professional aspirations and therefore would tend to discourage a career decision to continue.

When the two variables are considered simultaneously, certain hypotheses as to career patterns can be generated. But also, two further sources of conflict for these women are revealed. The simultaneous operation of these variables may be represented by the two cross-classifications below.

		"Constraint"			"Choice"	
		Academic Experience			Academic Experience	
		+	-		+	-
Woman Role Considerations	+	continue (conflict)	continue, Drop out	+	continue (conflict)	Drop out, continue, transfer
	-	(conflict)	Drop out	-	transfer (conflict)	Drop out, transfer

We have predicted that a negative value for academic experience is relatively unlikely for these entrants. When it does occur, for the constraint entrants with a positive value for woman role considerations (that is, for whom these considerations are favorable for a career decision to continue) we can suggest that they will either attempt to continue or will resolve the academic difficulty by ridding themselves of it through a decision to drop out. When the woman role considerations as well as the academic situation operate negatively, we predict that the entrants will choose the line of least resistance and opt out of the program.

Similarly, the "Choice" entrants can make the same decisions with the additional option of transferring to a more favorable academic environment. (Transferring is usually not an option for women defined as constrained to have a central sex identification.)

We have already discussed the possible conflicts that might arise for both types of Distressed when their woman role considerations are negative. These conflicts can be expected to intensify under positive academic experience conditions. The career patterns that are produced in such situations are not immediately obvious; therefore, no predictions will be made for the "Constraint" entrants, although for the "Choice" entrants a decision to transfer can be suggested as a possible option. It will be necessary to look at the effects of the remaining determining variables before predictions of other possible career decisions for these women can be made.

For both types of entrants positive values of both variables would seem to foster a situation favorable to completion of the PhD degree, so that decisions to continue the graduate career could be expected. However, inherent in this situation is a conflict that stems from the cross-currents of professional aspirations and of current or potential familial obligations. Women in this situation are faced with the problem of balancing the prospect of academic success with their women role obligations.

Essentially the conflict hinges on the questions of the nature of one's professional participation once the degree is completed, and its effects on one's other roles and vice versa. If success in one area must entail a slighting of the other and if participation in both areas limits participation in each, then how is the "allocation of self" decided? These women do not have the clear-cut guidelines for decision-making because their input-attributes do not define their value heirarchy as those of the Drifters and Drivers do. For these women, success in the academic environment (or on the other hand, the familial-social realm) may be perceived to be as potentially problematic as failure to achieve the degree (or to have family, marriage, or so forth). The questioning of the future value of the degree as an element in her life conceivably could operate to weaken commitment to decisions to continue the career just as questioning the value of fulfilling her social needs might foster a decision to continue. Regardless of the direction of her thoughts (and note that the direction could be either way), anxieties produced by this conflict could hinder performance in both areas, which in turn could affect the course of her graduate student career.

When the remaining three determining variables are examined for their possible modes of influence on career decisions, further specification of career patterns is possible. Their operation becomes most relevant under conditions of positive values for academic experience and positive and negative values for woman role considerations. As was intimated above, the cross-pulls of these latter two variables tend to cancel each other out, thus rendering decision-making more dependent on the operation or influence of the other three variable.

Without specifying all the possible ways these three variables could interact to yield a given career decision, we can look instead at the effects when (1) all three variables independently tend to influence a positive decision, (2) all three variables independently tend to produce a negative decision, and (3) the independent effects of the variables taken as a group are both positive and negative.

The career pattern predictions are presented in the following paradigm:

Values for 1) Academic Experience and 2) Woman Role Considerations	Values for Achievement Motivation, Achievement Expectation, and Time Variables		
	+ + +	- - -	Mixed Values
+ + a) Constraint b) Choice	a) continue b) continue	a) drop out b) drop out	a) continue, drop out b) " "
+ - c) Constraint d) Choice	c) continue, drop out d) continue or transfer	c) drop out d) drop out	c) " " d) " ", or transfer

From the paradigm can be seen that when values of all five variables are positive, entrants of both types can be expected to continue their careers. When all but woman role considerations are positive, this variable can be predicted to have the decision-determining power; the resultant decisions reflect the etiology of the negative value of that variable.

The overriding effects of negative values for the achievement motivation, achievement expectation, and time variables in tending to produce decisions to opt out of the program not only reflect their intrinsic importance in decision-making, but also they may reflect the inconclusive effect (resulting from the conflict of interest discussed above) of the other two variables in decision-making.

Any one among the full range of career decisions could be expected of these women when combinations of variables with mixed values are operative in decision-making. The exact decision that is made will be dependent upon which of the thirty-two possible variable-value combinations is operating.

One further observation that can be made from the paradigm is that, on a sheerly probabilistic basis, the chances for decisions to continue in the graduate program are fewer in number and require a greater juxtaposition of positive variable values than is true for decisions to terminate the career. This does not necessarily mean that we should expect to find fewer of these women following continuing as opposed to terminal career patterns; but rather that, of those who are continuing, many can be expected to be doing so under conflictful conditions. If this is so, we could also expect a relatively high degree of instability in their career decisions over time.

In sum, for these entrants all of the determining variables can be predicted to be relevant in their decision-making. The careers they follow will ultimately be the product of their modes of balancing out cross-pulls of the conflicting aspirations which devolve from their peculiar input-attributes.

Hypothesis Testing

Setting forth the above hypotheses about the expected career patterns of the Distressed entrants concludes that section of the chapter. Up to this point we have taken the model presented in Chapter Three and derived a series of hypotheses as to probable career patterns that can be expected when entrants are of a given type. We now turn once again to our data in order to test by inspection the plausibility of our hypotheses.

It might be instructive to review at this point the organic nature of the relationship between the data and the analysis. Our starting point, of course, was the raw data obtained through the interviews. On the basis of these data, we were able to posit the graduate career as a decision-making process in which career decisions were made on the basis of a set of determining variables which were assumed to operate differentially upon each of four distinguishable types of student entrants. Then, taking this model we made a series of predictions of career patterns that could be logically expected for each entrant type. We now return to our data to test insofar as is possible the "goodness of fit" of our predictions.

We wil do this, first of all, by testing the broadest hypotheses about career patterns that could be expected for each entrant type simply by seeing which career patterns are being followed by women students in each category. Second, we can look at the data pertinent to the predictions about which of the determining variables could be expected to be most relevant in decision-making. And finally, where the data are available we can look at the plausibility of the suggested effects of the other variables on decision-making.

This means that the following basic hypotheses will be tested:

1. For Drivers, the career pattern will be continuation until PhD completion and the relevant variable is academic experience.
2. For Dabblers, the career pattern will be drop out or "plateau" achievement → drop out and the relevant variable is achievement motivation.
3. For Drifters, the career pattern is variable and the relevant variable is woman role consideration.
4. For Distressed, the career pattern is variable and all variables are relevant: a) when all variables are positive, the career pattern is continue; b) when achievement motivation, achievement expectation, and time are negative, the career pattern is drop out; c) when variables have mixed values, career patterns are variable.

1. Drivers: "For Drivers, the career pattern will be continuation until PhD completion and the relevant variable is academic experience."

In the sample of twenty-five graduate student women who were interviewed for this study, two were classified as Drivers, manifesting both focused involvement and peripheral sex identification. Both women thus far have made decisions to continue their careers, and both have expressed the intention not only of PhD completion but of pursuing a full-time professional career. As a further indication of their involvement in the field, both are now preparing for publication. For these women, then, the hypothesis about expected career patterns is seen to hold.

We also suggested that the academic experience variable could be expected to be most relevant in a career decision. This secondary hypothesis does in fact seem to hold, too. Consider, for example, the following comment which shows the effects of both negative and positive academic performance on career decisions:

> The first year was very painful...I was really lost; I got three B's the first semester. I was very discouraged, began to feel uncommitted. I thought of law school, but I decided to finish my M.A. and then see how I felt about going on. Then I started getting involved in my courses, started doing better, and haven't thought of leaving since then.

As to the nature of faculty relationships we suggested that professional treatment is of more value to Drivers than socio-emotional contacts. There are indications in the data that give this supposition some support:

> No, I don't feel particularly integrated into the department and I never have. But I am not seeking this; it's not important. The faculty will talk with students if you have anything to say. I think it's reasonable that faculty don't want to sit in their offices and teach students. But as for intellectual interchange, I think they'll welcome this.

and, further:

> It wasn't until I gave my paper that my relationships with the faculty began to change. They began to treat me as a colleague--this made an enormous difference in my self-image...First you have to prove yourself; then the problem's overcome. Until you do that, they treat you as other women--they think you'll just leave and they act on that assumption.

Because we have only two cases of this type of entrant, we can hardly presume to present an adequate test of the several other hypotheses made earlier about the effects of the remaining variables on career decisions. We can, however, look briefly at a few observations from the data that tend to bear out those hypotheses.

First, both entrants of this type have enjoyed highly supportive, personal relationships with professionals in the field. Relative to fostering decisions to continue their careers, these relationships have at least three functions; 1) they provide expectations of achievement on the "peer" level; 2) they provide expectations of achievement and positive support on the "professional-referent" level; and 3) they allow woman role considerations to be non-problematic relative to pursuing a career.

Further, neither entrant seemed to feel a time pressure except insofar as the longer their graduate programs took, the longer they would have to wait to begin their professional careers. Moreover, both entrants viewed the PhD as a "union card," not as a "merit badge;" it is the means to an end, not the end itself. Therefore, achievement motivation is seen to operate in the way we had previously suggested. Finally, both entrants expressed feeling a lack of role-models; and one entrant related that she did in fact construct her own semi-realistic models after which to pattern her life.

In sum, then, we can say that because the career patterns followed by the incumbents of the Driver type are of the type suggested by the model, and because academic experience does seem to be highly relevant in their career decisions, our hypotheses do seem to be justified. Further, there is some support in our data for others of the hypotheses suggested previously for this entrant type.

2. Dabblers: "For Dabblers the career pattern will be drop out or "plateau"-achievement → drop out; and the relevant variable is achievement motivation."

Only one of the twenty-five women was of the Dabbler type, manifesting both divertible involvement and peripheral sex identification. The pattern of this entrant's career and the variables relevant in her decision are shown in the following statement:

> I may have known all along that I'm not going on for a PhD. Leaving school has been becoming more and more attractive to me the longer I'm here. I'm not prepared to go on further; there are just so many other things that I want to do.
>
> Since I've been here, I've not found any motivation to stay on. It hasn't hit me yet that I want to stay on. Nothing has fired my imagination enough to make me want to stay.
>
> I considered leaving without my M.A., but I wouldn't let myself do it. I'm here to get a master's at the U ofM and I will get it. I'll do it in stages if necessary. I thought to myself when I'd considered leaving: what have I been doing for the last two years of my life? I've been getting a master's degree and I want to have something to show for it.

Thus, at least for this one case, the hypotheses about the expected career pattern and the relevant variable clearly hold.

Since our sample is so small, it is hardly appropriate to attempt to "test" the other suggestions made previously about the operation of other variables on Dabbler decisions. For example, for this entrant, receiving peer group support for a decision to drop out ("The people that I'm closest to in the department and outside of it are not going on for their PhD's either. None of us are quite ready to stay on.") and having the graduate experience itself make other options both visible and viable ("I knew nothing about what I could do in the field until I came here. Now I do. There are a lot of opportunities open, really.") are no doubt operative in her decision not to continue. But, although both of these factors are congruent with two of the hypotheses suggested in the previous section, nevertheless this does not constitute a real test of those hypotheses. Therefore, we will not consider these hypotheses further.

In sum, for the one entrant in the Dabbler category, the expected career pattern was found; and the variable suggested to be most relevant to this entrant type was found to be operative in this case.

3. Drifters: "For Drifters, the career pattern is variable and the relevant variable is woman role considerations."

Sixteen of the twenty-five women in the sample were deemed to have central sex identification and divertible involvement. Their career patterns ranged from pre-M.A. dropout to PhD continuation; they ranged in age from twenty-one to forty-five; six were single while the others were married with up to four children; and they ranged from first- to fourth-year students.

In the previous section we suggested that a good deal of the variability in observed career patterns could be accounted for by the value of woman role considerations operating in decision-making. In order to examine the operation of this variable, the sixteen women were divided into those with a positive value for this variable (that is, those for whom no woman role conflicts were indicated as operative in the pursuit of a graduate career) and those with a negative value for this variable (that is, those for whom such role-conflicts were operating to impede progress toward the PhD.

Of the sixteen, seven--all of whom were married--indicated compatibility of their roles as women with their student roles. The specific hypothesis suggested previously that we are examining relative to this group is: "When woman role considerations are favorable for continuation of the graduate career, decisions to continue are likely to be made." Six of the seven women are following "continue" careers, two of the six being in state nine (post-M.A., post-prelim continuation). The seventh woman entered the department intending to complete only the M.A.; at the time of the interview, she was in the final stages of completing it; so in a sense she, too, can be considered to have made "continue" career decisions. Although the sample is small, the results clearly indicate support for the hypothesis.

Two further hypotheses were suggested that can be examined here: 1) "When woman role considerations and academic experience are both positive, the entrant will tend to continue." Positive values were assigned to academic experience for each entrant if there were indications in the interview data of high interest, satisfactory faculty relationships and adequate academic performance (opposite definitions apply for negative value assignment). While sufficient data were available to assess the value of the first two of the component variables, data were not systemmatically gathered on academic performance. Assignment of a value to this variable depended upon whether the entrant volunteered such information during her interview. Therefore, the results obtained in this case should be viewed with appropriate tentativeness. Three of the four women in this category are continuing; the fourth is the M.A. terminal candidate discussed previously.

2) "When woman role considerations and achievement motivation are positive while academic experience is negative, a decision

will be made to continue or to transfer." The three women with positive woman role considerations and negative academic experience are all continuing (two are third year, one is first year). The role of achievement motivation in their decisions, however, is ambiguous.

Even though a higher degree of variation is incurred when one changes the level of analysis from that of the aggregate (even though our "aggregates" have been small) to that of the unit, nevertheless, it is instructive to look at these three entrants in more detail. First, the sources of the negative value for academic experience are the interest and faculty relationship components; two of the three entrants have demonstrated high performance capability (through prelims and department awards). The causes of low interest vary for each entrant; for one, it results from lack of opportunity to develop an area of substantive interest because of work commitments; for another, the department doesn't offer training in areas of interest to her; the third, the first year student, is both disenchanted with course content and with the department's particular analytic bias. All three report little or no satisfactory faculty relationships: "I have no close connection with the department. I have no one to identify with or work closely with; and this has been disappointing." "I have the feeling that professors seem to take women students less seriously. They don't give us as much attention, don't get so involved with us as with the men students."

Achievement motivation seems not to be highly relevant to these three entrants: "The PhD is not essential to my career goals; I don't need the degree; I will take as much of graduate school as I can stand."

> Having the degree, being a PhD, isn't the motivation for getting it for me. That's not really why I'm here working for it...But I don't want to have a career in this field without a PhD. There is enough of a feeling around here that you aren't worth anything without it; the PhD legitimates you.

The factors that these entrants indicated as being relevant to them fall under the rubric of woman role considerations:

> I got married just after I had gotten my master's. My husband was also in school and would be here. So I thought that going on in school would be a good way to spend my time while he was finishing his degree...I'd much rather be married and be a student than have a nine - to - five job. My time is more flexible; I can see more of my husband this way.

> The school doesn't offer that good a program. I am a little let down after all the promises in the catalog, but I have no choice. My husband is going to be here awhile, so I'll put up with it. I won't change schools now.

> My husband is very supportive; he feels very strongly that I should stay in. Since we're both students, it all fits. If he weren't like this, it'd be harder; it wouldn't be as easy to stay in.

This suggests that even in the face of academic disenchantment, if woman role considerations are favorable, decisions to continue are likely to result. Thus are produced such phenomena in the department as an entrant currently working on her dissertation who feels merely that continuing in graduate school is the least unattractive of a set of unattractive options.

Of the nine entrants whose woman role considerations were deemed negative, five were second-year students and four were first-year at the time of the interview. Three of them were married, one engaged, and the remaining five were single. The hypothesis we are testing relative to this group is: "When woman role considerations are unfavorable for continuation of the career, terminal decisions are likely to be made." The career patterns of the women are distributed as follows: three are pre-M.A. dropouts, four are M.A. dropouts, and two are M.A. transfers. Thus, all nine have made terminal career decisions, which supports our hypothesis.

We tentatively suggested further that "when woman role considerations are negative while the academic experience is positive, married Drifters can be expected to drop out, single Drifters to drop out or transfer." Only one case fit both of these requirements; a married student whose husband is leaving the area, she is, of course, terminating her career. Moreover, she is not contemplating transferring to another department:

> I see a potential danger of conflicts with my having a PhD and my husband not having one. I'd be content to go on taking courses without getting the degree. I don't see the PhD as the be all and end all of life; it's not the ultimate achievement in life to me.

The fact that eight of these nine women have negative values for academic experience mandates closer inspection of this variable. Upon such examination two general observations emerge. Even though performance was indicated to be satisfactory in most cases, (1) in all cases decline in interest in the field was indicated as resulting from poor or unstimulating course work (the reader should be reminded that this group is entirely composed of first and second-year students); and (2) little or no contact with faculty was uniformly mentioned as a source of discontent with graduate school.

A possible relationship between faculty contact and woman role considerations was suggested by one of the respondents:

> So much of what I was doing was meaningless. I can conceive of working very hard for someone who showed an interest in me. Had I found someone who wanted me to work for him and was warm in his direction of me, maybe I would have been more inclined to stay. I can see a warm relationship

> with a faculty member as a partial substitute for the dearth of warm relationships with men socially.

Comments from other students not only reiterate this idea but illuminate the operation of these two variables on career decisions. For example, consider the statements of an M.A. dropout:

> I had the intention of eventually getting the PhD--but it would have to be after I've done something else. I need to get my bearings. I guess I'm weak, but I tend to be drawn into a field or a department by the faculty relationships I have; that's why I majored in soc. rather than math. The soc. profs encouraged me, told me I should go on, showed some interest in my career, and tried to make me feel part of the field. That was at (school). Here there's been none of that. I might have stayed in the department here or at least in sociology if the department here had shown the least bit of interest in whether I was dead or alive. No one cares here.
>
> Maybe it bothers me more than others that the professors don't smile. Sometimes I think that maybe I'm not tough enough--I don't know--I just wanna get outa here. I guess maybe I'm too subjective in my reactions here. I need people to care about me and what I'm doing. I need personal encouragement and praise or even criticism. But here they don't give a damn. Ever since I've geen here I've had a problem with self-confidence. There has been a total lack of encouragement from the faculty here.

Or the statement of an M.A. transfer:

> Yes, I certainly do see myself as a PhD, but not one from here. I'm transferrring to (school) in medical sociology in the fall. Had I stayed here I would have gotten out quickly, taken my prelims as soon as possible, finished my courses as soon as I could. I don't like it here. The social life is bad; the department is not interesting; and they're not interested in me.
>
> At (school), we could go into faculty offices any time and talk with them. We had much closer ties there. They were glad to see you, they were interested in you, they took time to talk to you. And this encouragement gave you an incentive to work hard, to do well. There are absolutely no incentives here to do anything except to do as little as possible to get by. I don't feel like doing good work, to give an extra push, for anybody. I was a protege at (school). I'm not here.
>
> Personal relationships make the biggest amount of difference in how you react to school. Not having close relationships with faculty bothers me. There is no opportunity for discussing your ideas, having them challenged or criticized. And there is no one to encourage you either.

> One of the reasons I'm getting married early is so I'd have encouragement from at least one source. I could have postponed it and stayed at Michigan longer, but this gives me a good excuse to leave.

Such statements contrast markedly with that of the Drifter, discussed previously, whose academic experience was positive:

> I've received encouragement all along from the department. It makes me feel more committed to the department and to the project that I'm working on. I've taken over some of the faculty's interests as my own. But these ties came as an undergraduate, not as a graduate student.
>
> Any sort of relationship I have with a faculty member is a carry-over from last year. I had close ties with several professors in the Soc. department. These were very meaningful to me. I did Honors work here after I transferred from (school).

Undoubtedly, then, faculty relationships are quite important in the academic experience as it hinges upon career decisions. Moreover, it is notable that these relationships seem to be of more significance to the six single Drifters than to the married ones. This may be so because of the sex factor suggested above; that is, for single Drifters expecially, supportive relationships with faculty members may substitute in the academic realm for such relationships (or lack of them) in the social realm. This nicely illustrates the consistent interrelated operation of the variables woman role considerations and academic experience on career decision-making.

A final tentative hypothesis that can be examined is "When woman role considerations and achievement expectation are negative, Drifters can be expected to terminate regardless of the value of the academic experience." Earlier in discussing the probable operation of each of the determining variables on career decisions, we suggested that achievement expectations would tend in general to operate negatively on these decisions in that Drifters would tend to be more open to influences from expectations of non-achievement. The comments of some of these students are illuminating in this regard.

One of the pre-M.A. drop-outs reported:

> I don't talk about graduate school with others because graduate school is such a weird sort of existence. The abnormality is part of why I'm leaving. The normal thing for a woman my age to be doing is having children. Also, our friends are ahead of us, they already have families. We're the only couple in our circle without any children. I irrationally want to speed up and be doing the same things the others are doing.
>
> As for my family, I get support from my husband now to stop school and start being a wife and mother. My parents, too, want me to stop and to have some kids. My mother-in-law and her husband are the only ones who think I should get at least the M.A. before I stop.

Another observed:

> But the grief about being a grad student comes not so much from the male students but from the guys you're dating. Finding the time to date is, of course, a major problem. But then, beyond that, the guys I've dated have seemed almost antagonistic about my being a student. They seem to think you're ultra-smart or aggressive or driven, or something. They've never been too encouraging about going on to school.

Two further examples come from M.A. drop-outs:

> Parents? Oh they think it's *fine* that I'm in grad school. They're all in favor of my getting my master's. But I have the feeling that they'll be happier when I'm out working and making money; they'll be gladder to see me married to a rich husband! I guess I've taken over some of their values; I wamt to get out and work too.

> My family has been very easy to deal with relative to thinking about leaving. They have always told me to take it easy, marry someone, have an affair.
>
> And there was the realization too, that *nobody's really expecting me to finish*--yes, that was it. The first year, ______ said that he never really expected me to finish. He always talked about brilliant women who never did anything. And my family didn't expect me to finish. They guys I went out with didn't give a damn if I had a PhD. The ones who did cared for the wrong reason: they thought it would look good to take me home to Mother and introduce me as a PhD. They just wanted to use me to build up themselves.

A third commented: "My parents are happy that I want to go on and do something. But they also want grandchildren."

when the amount of time already expended in graduate study was so extensive as to make continuing seem a more profitable decision than leaving.

Two of the single Drifters, quoted previously, made reference to the time compression effect that graduate school has on their social lives. A third comment from an M.A. drop-out strongly reiterates this feeling:

> Grad school, in terms of time, certainly has hindered social relationships. There is no time to seek out the men. (We'll see whether that's a legitimate excuse for my lack of relationships when I relocate.) You have to be available when men ask you out. As a graduate student you can't take the time to be at all the different functions where people normally meet other people. There is too much pressure of courses, of work; I just can't afford to spend several evenings a week at concerts, at clubs, with the outing club, etc.

The entrant, twenty-eight and single, goes on to discuss longer-run time pressures:

> Sure I feel a time squeeze. That's one of the things pushing me out of school. I'm anxious to find a man to get married to, quite frankly. Wanting a stable relationship with a man is one of the reasons I'm leaving. I just can't find it here. I have been totally unable to establish a stable relationship here.

This same sentiment is expressed by a pre-M.A. drop-out:

> Time is a problem for women. A conflict arises for me here; I'm 27. I want to settle down and make babies for awhile, and just throw over this career bit. I thought about this quite a bit at the beginning of this year. Now there is a good possibility that I'll get married this summer.

Time as a variable in ordering priorities is again reflected in this statement by an M.A. drop-out:

> Also my external ties are very strong. They have always pulled me in a direction away from school. Even though I was in Ann Arbor, my love life was always based at home; I have always been focused away from Ann Arbor. I feel that this part of my life will have to come first. These personal options are here, now; they will have to be settled first before I can really tackle school again if ever.

Finally an M.A. transfer commented:

> In all the dating I've done here at Michigan we've never double-dated with other grad girls. It's always the "verdant freshmen" types or the never-went-to-college housewifey types. There's no one to reinforce you in your decision to stay in school, no one to get excited about it with. You're an isolate. People either look down on you as either too crazy or too unattractive to do something else--like get married--or else they look up to you as an all-knowing, too-brilliant-for-ordinary-mortals wierdo. Either case is hardly supportive of the grad student woman role!
>
> Guys get moral support and can build up their ego during social relationships. But this doesn't work for girls. When girls are dating, they spend their time trying to be supportive to the guy they're with, and to build up his ego; but it doesn't work in reverse. Most guys will just wonder why you're in school and get mad if you're too busy studying to be able to go out with them.
>
> Other graduate student girls are the only source of reinforcement for girls. You don't get it from guys nor from professors; but only from past impetus, and this soon wears out.

From these and from previous comments about professorial referents, it can be seen that peer group, reference group, and general societal values on non-achievement expectation do operate in conjunction with woman role considerations to produce terminal career decisions. Thus, our hypothesis as to their co-active operation in decision-making seems plausible.

So far, we have examined the major hypotheses and secondary tentative hypotheses about expected career patterns, and we have found--within the bounds of our limited data--strong support for each of these. In so doing, we have touched on four of the five determining variables operative in Drifters' decision-making. What remains to be discussed relative to these entrants are our predictions about the operation of the variable time in decision-making. It was suggested that time considerations would tend to produce terminal career decisions except

Married drifters, too, feel a short-run time pressure. An entrant now working on her dissertation comments:

> When I look at the ironing, the curtains that need to be washed, I want to stop school altogether. In the past few months we've had family problems--my grandfather has been sick, and I feel I should save time to spend with him, save time to work on these sorts of problems. But there isn't any!

A second-year "continue" student discusses these problems:

> In informal conversation girls and guys discuss the problems of getting through and managing both a home and school at the same time. This is really a pressure; my husband expects fancy dinners, an immaculate house, and a hot breakfast every morning.
>
> Then there are the entertainment obligations that we incur. This is a source of considerable pressure not to continue. It would be good to be able to help my husband with his career by being able to entertain his boss and his friends. I adjust to these pressures academically by not being the best student in school. I have set lower performance standards for myself.

As for long-term time conflicts between graduate study and family-rearing, some married entrants indicated feeling this sort of pressure while others did not.

Time already spent in graduate study does effect positive career decisions in various ways:

1) "So long as I've invested this much time, I'd like to get the PhD. It'd be dumb not to stay if I pass prelims this summer."

2) "The M.A. is a relatively easy degree to get and this helps maintain motivation. You just tell yourself, it won't be long and it's not that hard."

3) "As far as choices, transferring doesn't become an option after you've been here awhile. It just adds time to your total program. So you stay."

In sum, with regard to the time variable, our data indicate tentative support for our suggestions as to the operation of this variable on career decisions.

To summarize our findings on Drifters, we can say that support was found for our major hypotheses about the relevance of the value of woman role considerations on career decision-making: favorable values produce continuing decisions while unfavorable values produce terminal decisions. From the discussions of the other variables, we can suggest that these variables impinge upon decision-making to the extent that and according to the manner in which they bear upon woman roles.

4. Distressed:

Six of our twenty-five interviewees manifested central sex identification and focused involvement. They range in age from twenty-three to thirty-six; three are married, two of them with children; four are first-year students, one is second-year, while one is in her fifth year. Three are following "continue" career patterns; one is a pre-M.A. transfer, one an M.A. drop-out, and the sixth is now writing her dissertation.

In the previous section in which our hypotheses about these entrants were presented, three additional points were emphasized: 1) that these entrants suffer conflicts which arise from the contradictory nature of their input-attributes, 2) that making predictions about the career decisions of these women is difficult because of the operation of the conflict, and 3) that it is unlikely that these women will have a negative academic experience. Inspection of the data supports the first two of these points. The third point, the unlikelihood of an unfavorable academic experience, was contradicted by the data and will be discussed in more detail below.

We also had dichotomized this group into those "constrained" to have central sex identification and those who "chose" to have it.

Among the six entrants this dichotomy fell along marital status lines; the three "constraints" were all married, while the three "choices" were all single. While it may be that the constraints might have been Drivers were they not married, nevertheless, because the possession of central sex identification is not a function of marriage by definition, this additional breakdown of the Distressed category may be superfluous.

If we look in more detail at the data we see that two of the six had negative woman role considerations, while they also were the only ones who had a favorable academic experience. We had suggested that, given positive values for the remaining three variables, the career decision would reflect the etiology of the conflict of student/woman roles. In the one case in which the requisite conditions are met (that is, when all variables are positive except woman role considerations), the pattern followed was M.A. drop-out (pattern 3+5). The student's husband was leaving the area so that she would no longer be able to continue her studies here; she is, however, planning to continue her graduate career elsewhere, if possible. Illustrative of both her determination and the conflict whe feels in simultaneously handling graduate school and caring for her two children is her following comment:

> Each semester, I've taken full course loads. And it's been rough, but I've managed to get my work in on time and to get good grades. I haven't wanted to go slowly. I want to do as much of it as I can as soon as I can. I am planning now definitely to get the PhD in sociology depending on where we are.
>
> I think I have more commitment to this than a lot of students have. Coming back to school involves for us greater costs in all sorts of ways: in what you're giving up, in the psychological problems of feeling guilty about leaving your kids, in wondering if your home and family life are suffering because of you, in questioning whether you're living the way your mother did.

In the second case, the student is now working on her dissertation (pattern 3+6+9). All variables are positive for her except woman role considerations and time, both short- and long-run. She eloquently expressed the conflict that she feels:

> Leaving has never been an option for me -- not after all this time!
>
> Oh, time is such a problem. Looking ahead -- I'd like to have more children, but I'd also like to write my dissertation and to work. I'm 36 now so I don't have too much time to wait for more children. And yet, I don't want to lose my feel for the field.
>
> At times I get this panicky feeling of pressure. How can I possibly continue my research? The baby is so tiring, you have to keep pushing yourself. I would never have imagined that a baby could drain you so.
>
> It's a question of being afraid of losing my investment of time and money and of myself. You can see things pushing aside your investment. Without constant nurturance, your training will go to seed; it needs to be well-watered and continually watched.
>
> My infant -- now that's another thing. She is a revelation of joy. But I am always so tired. I never believed I could be so tired. I think a good deal of it is just getting used to a new time and schedule.
>
> But she is displacing a lot of my own interests. And this surprises me. I never thought anything could.

Thus, conflicts arise for her not only in finishing her degree, but in deciding how to balance the desires both for a professional career and a family.

The most striking fact about the remaining four Distressed entrants is that, while woman role considerations were positive for all of them, contrary to our expectations the academic experience was negative. Under such conditions we made no specific predictions as to career patterns, suggesting rather that any of the options (to continue, to transfer, to drop out) was likely. The career patterns followed thus far by these entrants (all of whom were completing their first year at the time of the interview) were as follows: three had made decisions to continue while the fourth was a pre-M.A. transfer.

However, each of the others had considered transferring as an option, as will be illustrated shortly.

When the cause of the negative academic experience is sought in the data, one finds that its immediate source is negative faculty relationships. This variable is seen to interact with the interest variable, contributing to its negative value. Various comments of the students substantiate these statements and illustrate as well their toying with the possibility of transferring:

1. A Choice entrant commented:

> The inhuman atmosphere in this department is totally unacceptable to me. It's just too unrewarding -- there are too many other things to be doing. So I might just leave to go do them!

2. The Constraint entrant in this category has similar sentiments, which may be intensified by the fact that transferring as an option is not open to her:

> I'm frustrated by the courses, by the lack of teaching, and by not being able to see my professors. I feel like an idiot when I go see professors. I always feel like I'm imposing on them when I go see them. The attitude I've developed is purely defiant. I will stay despite them! I just won't let them get to me.
>
> My enthusiasm has waned. I don't enjoy going to classes here. I never missed classes in my undergrad days; I was always afraid of missing out on new, exciting ideas that the professors offered. Here, I go all the time because I'm afraid of missing what they think is important, but not because I expect them to be exciting or stimulating; I don't expect that at all -- I've learned.
>
> The department couldn't deter me directly. But I'd do less work and possibly this means I'd do less well. "I'm not going to let those jerks get in my way" is my attitude. I'll do as little of their work and as much of my own as I can get away with.
>
> If I had the easy option to transfer -- which I don't have because of my marriage and my inertia -- I would definitely consider it. But marriage puts it out of the realm of possibilities.

Note in this entrant's further comments the interaction of the lack of faculty encouragement -- both on professional and socio-emotional levels -- with academic performance. Moreover, her statements nicely illustrate the interplay of the particular input-attributes which characterize the Distressed entrants.

> Nothing quite takes the place of the encouragement and support from a faculty member you like and respect. This is a necessary part of being a graduate student despite what the Michigan faculty think. Your professional peers are important if you're interested in your career. As a student you particularly need a certain amount of encouragement because you're less sure of yourself at that point. And no one but a faculty member, a professional, can give you that kind of encouragement.
>
> I have not really seriously considered leaving. I always talk about it in moments of complete despair and fits of anger. But it's not really much of an option. I have seen what it's like to work without an advanced degree. I don't want that. You can't do anything on your own. That sort of career doesn't appeal to me. When I talk of leaving, my husband always talks me out of it. It's all tied up to the fact that I actually intend to do a lot of what I'll eventually do. I definitely plan to have a full-time career.
>
> Everybody I know has thought of leaving, and for those for whom it's a feasible option, they're leaving. Everyone's leaving except for those like me who're married and can't go elsewhere.
>
> I have this strange combination of confidence and inferiority in my approach to things. The combination keeps me working very hard. The fear of failing, the need to do well keeps me working very hard. I worry about things weeks ahead of time. This combination makes me do lousy assignments and practice problems that most kids just skip over as mickey mouse work. But that kind of motivation is becoming less important to me here because I don't care what the people in the department think of me or of my work. I'm really afraid of fall semester for this reason. I just don't care about my work; I'm afraid I won't be able to make myself do anything. Yet, even with all of this, I'm sure I'll finish. If I leave, they'll have to throw me out. They can't just edge me out.

3. Another of the Choice entrants commented of faculty relationships:

> I don't feel close to anyone in the department. This doesn't make a difference in my continuing, but it does make a difference in whether I'd continue here rather than elsewhere. One reason, well, the main reason really, that you come to a university is to work with the faculty. Books are not that hard to get on your own nor are the lectures. If that's all there is to it, then there wouldn't be so much desire to come at all.

And yet she has decided to continue:

> Even though I may be dissatisfied here, I just don't know where to go from here. One reason I'm not seriously considering leaving Michigan is that I would not be moving away from a situation here but rather toward another. Also I think I have a realistic appraisal of the situation elsewhere. I don't think it's any better any place else. I think you accept a situation and learn to live within it. I think it'll be better here next year.

4. Conflict of a slightly different nature, yet operative in negative academic experience, is illustrated by the following comment of a Choice entrant:

> It really seems as if it is not a moral compromising with self that is being demanded of us; it is a much more total commitment -- a complete sale of self. "Sociologists have no morals!" This is often said lightly, but I am realizing that it isn't said in jest at all. I am realizing that the mark of the sociologist is moral corrosion and moral callousness. And I must ask: is it worth it? and with equal compulsion I must answer certainly not. ...Then why am I going on? Well, obviously you can't continue without certain changes in outlook -- so I guess you lose your naive idealism, and a bit of your sensitivity; you become a bit hardened and you've lost your enthusiasm; your reserves of pleasure and joy are depleted and sociology becomes a job. Or else you can leave graduate school.

The effect of such a reaction in decision-making is emphasized as the entrant continued:

> When the options are ending up with the ingrained callousness of the older sociologists or the all-pervasive cynicism of the younger sociologists, getting out of the field altogether, or looking for a grad school that I find more acceptable in outlook, more compatible to my own, then the choice is clear.

5. The entrant who did transfer, while doing so on academic grounds, indicated that "departmental atmosphere" was also a factor in her decision:

> Over the summer, after deciding to come here in sociology, I began to think that the (field) program would fit my needs better. I did a lot of thinking about being in sociology here. So, by the time I came here I had already decided that I really wanted to go into (field). These

> thoughts were reinforced by my initial experiences here. I found out that the soc. department was not going to let me do what I wanted relative to my own interests. Basically I wanted to be in a sociology department. But the program here is so narrow-minded. They are not willing to accept periphery interests. You have to hew the narrow line of social organization or else.
>
> ...If it had been a question of a few courses, I wouldn't have let it bother me. But it was the whole orientation to sociology of the department that I found distressing: you have to accept their viewpoint on the analysis and interpretation of sociological phenomena -- all else is either wrong entirely or not so good, or not worth bothering with in the first place. I didn't want to put up with the kind of sociology that they were making me take.
>
> ...The difference in atmosphere between (field) and the sociology departments was no minor factor in my switch into (field). The sociology department is much more aggressive, competitive, bellegerent. The (field) department has a much more relaxed atmosphere to work in. People there enjoy what they're doing, and they have time for other people. I was drawn to this -- perhaps because I'm female. No one coddles you in sociology. It's tough and pushy there. They don't coddle you in (field) either, but they're nicer... as professors and as friends. And I admit readily that atmosphere is important to me. I like pleasant work situations!
>
> ...Another thing I've noticed about the sociology faculty is that they don't seem to take women seriously. They assume you're there to find a husband, to kill time, or whatever; but they don't take you seriously in the way they do men. Women have to prove that they are there because they want to be professionals in the same sense as the men students. For men, the professional intent and seriousness is assumed automatically; if they're not serious, this is what they have to prove.

In general, then, we can say that contrary to our expectations the faculty relationship component of the academic variable is just as significant to these entrants as it was to Drifters -- except that the Distressed seem to feel this lack on professional grounds rather than on purely socio-emotional grounds. Instead of subscribing to the theory that the departmental faculty is a collection of ogres, however, we can suggest the possibility of status insecurity operating on the part of students to impede the development of the relationships they so much desire.

If we posit that one parameter of faculty-student interaction on the graduate level is the professional competence of both parties, then it follows that until such competence is established, collegial relationships will be rare. Most graduate students, particularly at the first-year level, have not established their competence; and because their competence is still an open question, they themselves may be reluctant to initiate contacts with faculty. This status insecurity and resulting reluctance to approach faculty may translate itself into infrequent or no faculty contact, which is than resented as a faculty short-coming as was documented above.

If we look at the "faculty-relationship" variable for the five entrants who have established their competence (utilizing either passing prelims or preparation of papers for publication as indicators of "competence establishment") we find in their statements none of the vehement dissatisfaction as was found for other entrants. The statement of one of the Drivers (see page 65) as well as the statement of the Distressed pre-M.A. transfer on the necessity of "proving oneself" (see page 85) gives illustrative substantiation to our suggestion that status insecurity rather than/as well as faculty coolness is responsible for the dearth of student-faculty relationships.

In sum, for the Distressed entrants we can say that when woman role considerations are negative, the career pattern will reflect the cause of the negative value for that variable. Beyond that, however, we are unable to make conclusive statements about the outcomes of career decisions except to note that the impact of the academic experience on career decisions of these entrants should not be underestimated. The data were such that we were unable to look at many of the tentative hypotheses generated previously. Further, because the sample was small and because we were dealing with "young" careers (that is, careers in the first-year stage), we were unable to determine whether career decisions to continue will continue to be made over time by those whose academic experience was negative.

A Dynamic Model

Thus far in the analysis we have been concerned with the careers of particular types of entrants. We have examined not only which variables would tend to be relevant to a given type, but also how these variables operate and what sorts of career decisions tend to be produced.

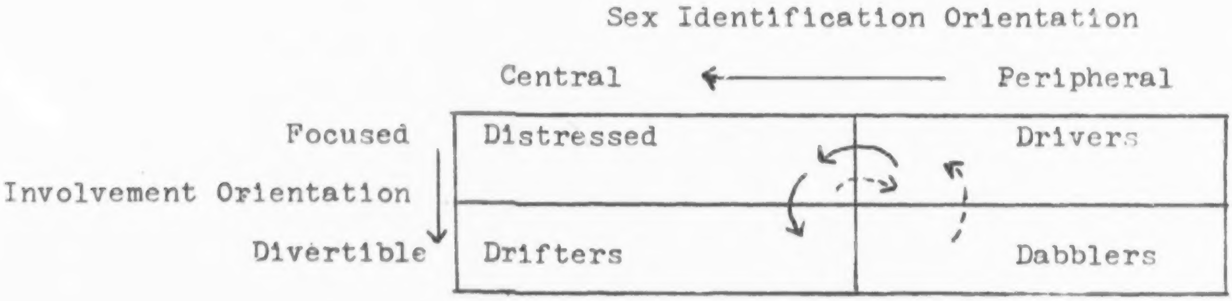
Our model (and the resulting hypotheses) is essentially a frozen-time, static model. The very obvious fact that pursuit of a graduate career takes place through time has not yet been taken into account in the analysis. This is done by suggesting the following dynamic model:

Women students can shift over time from one entrant type to another according to changes in their input-attributes. Thus, shifts occur not within each entrant category but between categories. Radical change in a given entrant's input-attributes will be sufficient to shift her from one entrant-type category to another with a consequent shift in the variables which are relevant to her decision-making.

The most likely paths of these shifts can be suggested after examination of possible causes of shifts in input-attributes. The shift that is most likely to occur in the sex identification orientation is from a peripheral to a central orientation. We can suggest that this is so for at least three reasons: 1) the ages during which most women attend graduate school are the ages at which interest in men is reaching a peak and during which mate search is carried out in earnest. 2) There is a tendency toward marriage for women during these ages. 3) There is a tendency toward child-bearing among women of these ages. In other words, regardless of her intentionality, her very age during the graduate career is conducive to a central sex identification orientation.

The shift that is most likely to occur in the involvement orientation is from focused involvement to divertible involvement. This can occur for a variety of reasons: disenchantment with graduate school or with the in-depth study of the discipline, the exposure to alternative options through increased education, the perception of a time-squeeze fostered by the necessity of a years-long commitment to graduate study, lack of reinforcement of involvement orientation, a shift in marital status, and so forth. A shift in the opposite direction is not inconceivable but seems unlikely.

These paths can be traced between entrant types by means of the following diagram:



The point of the diagram is simply this: as individual women go through the graduate system, changes in their input-attributes -- to the extent that they occur -- are most likely to occur in the illustrated directions. Women who enter as Drivers can be expected to shift toward the Distressed type, provided that a shift occurs. Further, women who are Distressed may seek to resolve the conflict inherent in that position by giving clear priority to one of their orientations; we suggest that they will shift their involvement orientation and become Drifters. There is the possibility, however, that once they become married or become convinced that they will never be married, they will forget about such considerations. Their sex roles will become of low salience and they will concentrate fully on their graduate careers. Such a shift from Distressed to Driver is represented by a broken line in the diagram. The most probable shift for women who are Drifters is a shift out of the system; but because this shift is not a "between-category" shift, it is not represented in the diagram. There is a possibility that Dabblers could become Drivers; but this seems highly unlikely and, therefore, is represented by a broken line in the diagram.

The requisite data for testing such a dynamic model are longitudinal data, which could be obtained from a panel study design. Our data, however, are cross-sectional in nature and are not applicable for a test of this model. Therefore, we must leave it as an untested heuristic suggestion for future research.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, on the basis of our conceptualization of the graduate career as a decision-making process, we derived hypotheses as to expected career decisions for each of the four entrant types and suggested which of the five determining variables could be expected to be most relevant in those decisions. We made further tentative suggestions as to how the determining variables would operate in decision-making.

Finally, we have suggested that our basic model is useful for dynamic as well as static analysis of graduate careers. This was done by proposing a series of inter-category shifts among entrant types, suggesting the most likely paths that individual shifts in input-attributes will take.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis as well as avenues for future research that are suggested by this study will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

Chapter Five. Conclusions and Implications

In this chapter our task is to present the conclusions that may de drawn from the preceding analysis, to specify appropriate policy implications that are suggested by this study, and most importantly, to briefly explore possible avenues for further research on the topic of graduate student women.

Conclusions:

Our analysis of the student careers of graduate student women suggests that in seeking answers to the questions of "who finishes? who leaves? and why?" attention should be directed not so much toward components of the academic setting, the situational factors that prescribe the structure and process of graduate study, but rather toward the personal attributes that characterize the entrants themselves. Thus, the cornerstone of our analysis has been the input-attributes of the entrants, their involvement and sex-identification orientations. It is through an entrant's attribute "set" that the situational factors -- academic and otherwise -- are filtered to influence career decisions to continue, to transfer, or to drop out.

We found that for Drivers, with focused involvement and peripheral sex identification orientations as their attribute set, the academic experience variable tended to be most salient in the career decisions, and that they were likely to continue their careers until PhD completion. Achievement motivation was the variable most relevant in academic decisions for the Dabbler who, with divertible involvement and peripheral sex identification orientations, has opted out of the program. Drifters were characterized by divertible involvement and central sex identification orientations; their academic career decisions were governed primarily by the operation of woman role considerations. Finally, the Distressed, whose attribute set consisted of focused involvement and central sex identification orientations, were most vulnerable to influences emanating from the woman role considerations and academic experience variables. While no predominant career pattern emerged for these entrants, their career decisions made thus far reflect the influence of the joint operation of the above two variables in conjunction with combinations of the other three determining variables.

Our study can perhaps be most succinctly summarized in the following conclusion: the pursuit of graduate study to PhD completion seems to be a function of the convergence of influences that minimize the conflict between the student role and other roles an entrant plays, intends to play, or is expected to play. Thus, we find that those women who demonstrated the greatest likelihood of completing their doctoral degrees were the Drivers and the married Drifters, both of whom can be characterized as enjoying multiple role congruence.

Policy Implications:

The inclusion of a section such as this in a research project can be rightly considered as presumptious, inappropriate, and as overstepping the bounds of sociological research. Nevertheless, we include it because the role of the academic department in the graduate student woman's career is highlighted by so doing.

Let us assume that the goal of the graduate department is to produce doctoral recipients and that with few exceptions all students are admitted to the department with this goal in mind. Past performance indicates that this goal is rarely attained where women students are concerned: less than seven per cent of all women ever admitted to the department have completed their doctoral degrees, and less than ten per cent of the PhD's awarded by the department have been conferred upon women. We can ask what departmental policies or procedures seem to be indicated by our research as possibilities for improving departmental performance relative to the production of woman PhD's.

First of all, our research indicates that the variable most directly related to the academic environment is only one of many factors influencing career decisions, and further, that it is of primary importance to only certain types of women entrants. The majority of the variables that influence career decision, therefore, are not directly manipulatible by the department. Our research does indicate, however, two avenues of action that are open to the department: a "prophylactic" policy of admissions and manipulation of those few variables that are of direct access to the department. We shall discuss each of these in turn.

While the department cannot control most of what happens to entrants once they enter the system, it can control the type of entrants it admits. We cannot suggest "sure-thing" candidates for PhD completion on the basis of our research. We can however, suggest that those entrants with a focused involvement orientation and married entrants with a divertible involvement orientation as input-attributes should be most seriously considered for admission. The findings of our research indicate that these are the entrants who most frequently had "continuing" career patterns.

As for the manipulation of variables two procedures can be suggested from our research. First, the interest component of the academic experience variable could be favorably affected by providing a more stimulating or at least less restricting first-year curriculum. Several of the entrants quoted throughout this paper (and there were many more who were not quoted) mentioned the waning of interest and a resultant dissipation of drive occurring during their first year of study. While this is obviously the product of several factors, specific mention of first-year courses as a causal factor would seem to mandate an alteration in the first-year program. It is a commonplace, yet nonetheless valid, observation that where termination of participation in a system is always open to system members, initial experiences in the system vitally affect decisions to retain system membership.

A second means for departmental manipulation of variables is concerned with the faculty relationships component of the academic experience and the professorial-professional reference group component of the achievement expectations variable. The two are closely related and can be discussed jointly for this purpose. Our findings indicated the importance of these two components to certain entrants, particularly to the Distressed entrants. The implications for departmental policy relative to these two components are clear. While we do not propose to advocate the introduction of "warmth" and "humanity" into situations of student-faculty interaction, we can suggest that (a) departmental personnel be aware of the importance and necessity of such contact situations to entrants and (b) that conscious efforts be made to project positive expectations of achievement not merely of PhD completion but of professional achievement as well.

Avenues of Future Research:

Our suggestions for future research fall under two main headings: improvement of the present research and extension of that research. Under the former category we would suggest, first, that what we have called "input-attributes" throughout this study, the involvement and sex identifications orientations of entrants, be carefully scrutinized -- perhaps by factor analysis -- as to content. Both as theoretical constructs and as operational definitions, the input-attributes need to be more rigorously defined.

This same suggestion holds for the set of determining variables. Further, we should point out that the causal chain model that was presented as a description of the interactive operations of these variables is essentially a path diagram minus the usual correlation and path coeffecients. Needed, then, are better ways of measuring both the effects of these variables on entrants' decision-making and the intercorrelations of these variables among themselves.

Demographic data on such characteristics as entrants' familial educational background, parental occupational background, religion and other variables that could be relevant to the pursuit of graduate education were not systemmatically gathered on each entrant in the present study. Use could be made of such data to construct an "education propensity profile" or some such measure of predilection toward graduate study.

Aside from recognizing that graduate careers are distinguishable along dimensions of time involved in study (the full-time/part-time dichotomy) and of sequential relationship between undergraduate-graduate careers (the straight/break dichotomy), use was not really made in this study of these bases of career variation. A future research project might wish to examine more closely the import or relevance of these gross career characteristics on decision-making.

In the present study we had to let a number of our hypotheses go untested due to a lack of appropriate data for testing them. This suggests that future research could be designed to test more adequately all of the hypotheses suggested in this paper. Particularly important in this regard are the hypotheses regarding shifts that occur over time between entrant types and of resultant shifts in the relevant determining variables. A series of panel studies or a cohort analysis research design would be more appropriate to a dynamic analysis than was the cross-section approach utilized in this study.

Moreover, in the present study we focused on entrant types and analyzed the decisions made by each type. The study of the graduate career could well have been done (and could be done in the future) by focusing on the decisions made at various points or stages in the career; a study of step-by-step or year-by-year decision-making would be more appropriate to dynamic analysis and could be accomplished by utilizing the panel study or the multiple cohort approaches.

Finally, we can suggest that studies of such interaction situations as faculty-student contact be considered as a means of investigating the dynamics of status insecurity and the process of competency establishment. Whether such characterization is an accurate description of the dynamics of these situations is also an empirical question.

Some of the suggestions for improving the present study also involved extensions of it. Other avenues for extending the present study hark back to suggestions made in the first chapter as to possibilities for comparative research. We stated at that time that this study was limited in scope, pertaining only to "student careers of graduate student women in the Department of Sociology at the University of Michigan." Whether the model we have developed in this paper can be applied to other schools or to other fields is not known. Future research in this area should attempt to extend the scope of the research problem to include women in other schools and other fields.

As for comparisons to men, the structure of the basic model of decision-making, input-attributes, and determining variables developed in this study conceivably would still be appropriate. The content of the input-attributes and the relevant determining variables operative in male student decisions, however, would have to be discovered through further research. Until this is done, male-female comparisons as to graduate career experiences are likely to be superficial.

In sum, then, in this study we have explored the topic of the student careers of graduate student women. We have tried to suggest the modes of variation among those careers and to determine what factors are relevant in shaping the patterns of careers. And finally, we hope we have suggested that much remains to be done.

Appendix. The Interview Schedule

Respondents were advised at the beginning of the interview that the range of topics to be covered was the following: 1) Options open to graduate student women; 2) Commitment to a) the discipline, b) a career, c) the Michigan Department of Sociology; 3) Relationships with a) faculty, b) men sociology graduate students, c) women sociology graduate students, d) family, e) friends; 4) Leaving graduate school; and 5) Problem Areas: a) Internal, b) External -- non-academic and academic.

The following questions were used as guidelines for conducting the twenty-five interviews:

A. Options
   1. Future: a) What options do you see open to you in the future? What all could you be doing?
      b) How do you see yourself in ten years?
      c) Does a graduate degree relate to these plans?
      d) Do you see yourself as active in Sociology -- as a contributor to the field in teaching or research, say?
      e) How do you visualize your study plans time-wise? Can you see the the "end" -- that is, can you and do you picture yourself with a PhD?

   2. Present: a) What else could you be doing given your current educational level?
      b) Does this seem viable or reasonable to you?
      c) (If applicable) Why are you in school now, then? Why aren't you following through on your other options? Why do you eschew other opportunities for graduate study?
      d) Do you thing the pay-off will be worth it?
      e) Do you like what you're doing now?
      f) Have other options suggested themselves along the way? What made you choose graduate study over the others?

   3. Past: a) What made graduate school seem like a viable option?
      b) What else could you have done?

   4. At what points do other options become most salient? What are the precipitating events that make you wish you were doing something else?

5. At these times, which of the options open to you seem most viable?

6. Why do you stifle the urge to try them? Or do you? What makes you decide that these other options are reasonable? Alternately, what makes you decide that graduate study is better than anything else?

B. Commitment

1. Which is of most importance to you -- a commitment to the field of sociology (are you here because sociology is interesting, etc.), a commitment to a career on the college or university level or to a career that will use graduate training in sociology in some way, or a commitment to this department?

2. Is this distinction useful to you? Can you say which of the three precipitated a decision to study sociology here?

3. Career:
   a) What did you intend to do in sociology?
   b) Do you see a degree as prerequisite to a career?
   c) Were you planning definitely on a career when you applied to graduate school?
   d) How flexible are your plans relative to this? Are you plan-oriented or contingency-oriented?

4. Discipline:
   a) How do you see yourself as fitting into the discipline?
   b) Has your interest in sociology been strengthened or weakened as a result of your study?

5. Department: Would this department be a major factor in your consideration of other options? How?

C. Relationships

1. Faculty:
   a) Departmental Inclusion
      1) Do you feel that you're integrated into the department?
      2) Do you have any close ties to the faculty?
      3) Have you worked with anyone on the faculty?
      4) Do you think this has made a difference to you in terms of your reaction to graduate school? How?
      5) Do you think closer ties with the faculty could be a factor in persuading students to stay?
   b) Differential Treatment by Sex
      1) Do you think departmental inclusion is a function of sex?
      2) Is it easier for men than for women to get assistantships and research grants, etc?
      3) Have you noticed or been conscious of differential treatment be sex in terms of classroom techniques, teacher response to student classroom participation, grading, etc?

2. Male Graduate Students
    - a) In conversations and other informal interaction with male graduate students, do you feel a sort of gentle exclusion, the exercise of differential treatment of women?
    - b) Are your conversations generally task-oriented or socio-emotionally-oriented?
    - c) In conversations have you ever felt constrained to react negatively to your graduate school experience?

3. Graduate Student Women
    - a) How do you see other graduate student women? Describe them. Do you think there's a "g.s.w. type?"
    - b) What is usually discussed when graduate student women get together?
    - c) Do you have an effective role-model?

4. Family
    - a) What sorts of reactions do you get from your family to your being in graduate school?
    - b) Do you have scheduling problems or do you perceive some in the future resulting from combining studies and marriage or a career and family?

5. Friends
    - a) How do your non-academic friends view your graduate student career?
    - b) Do you ever feel that your normality is being questioned?
    - c) How seriously do your friends take your studying?
    - d) Do you receive encouragement to continue in school from your peer and reference groups?

D. Leaving
1. When did you decide not to continue your graduate studies? (or Have you ever considered leaving?)
2. What factors were significant in this decision?
3. Were any of these factors sex-linked?
4. When does leaving become a viable option, and when is it easiest?

E. Problem Areas
1. Internal
    - a) What problems do you have to overcome within yourself in order to maintain motivation and drive to continue?
    - b) Do you feel a time-squeeze? time pressure to fit into your life in the next several years a variety of activities? What of shorter-range pressures?
    - c) How does marriage fit into your life at present? Has it affected your graduate career plans at all?
    - d) Do you feel any role conflicts? How do you handle them?
    - e) Others?

2. External--non-academic
    - a) Have you ever perceived intimations of "abnormality" on the part of friends or acquaintances?

b) Have you ever felt your higher educational level has created relational barriers or posed interaction problems in the non-academic environment?
c) Others?

3. External -- academic
   a) Have you experienced "drift," "anomie," or a dearth of departmental inclusion since being here?
   b) Have you undergone a dissipation of drive relative to achieving the degree since you've been here? How did this come about? What techniques of motivation maintenance do you use?
   c) Others?

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